MAY 12, 1947

New Republic

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New Republic

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Letter of the Week

Formosa for Whom?

The author of this letter, Edward Paine, was an economics analyst and reports officer for UNRRA. He was stationed in Formosa for 10 months as a political-economic reporter, and was part of the only group of foreign technical specialists permitted to work there more or less unhampered for such a period.

SOME interesting commentaries on democracy—both US and Chinese style—could be offered now by the people of Formosa.

At the Cairo Conference in 1943 the US was instrumental in writing the agreement which gave the island back to China. In 1945 the Chinese Nationalist Government actually took over after hostilities ceased. So the Formosans have heard the US, with its publicity on the fostering of the Four Freedoms throughout the world, and they have seen the US-supported Chinese government in action. If any of the people of the island dared make a statement now they would undoubtedly say they had had a bellyful of both.

For one thing, the Chinese have little more of a claim to Formosa than have several other countries: Holland, Spain, Portugal and particularly Japan. The Chinese, although they held the island longer and although the Formosans are for the most part immigrants from China, have never shown any interest in its welfare. After losing the Sino-Japanese War in the 1890's, the mainland bought its own peace by sacrificing the island. Nor, in fact, had the Chinese made any serious attempt previous to that time either to help or really to govern Formosa. On the other hand, when, at the end of World War II, Formosa emerged from the semi-blackout of 50 years of Japanese rule, she had come a long way.

The motives of the Japanese were selfish and the means used rough, but the results are none the less impressive. In carrying out their plans for exploiting the island and for furthering their ideal of a Japanese-dominated Asia, the

(Continued on page 46)

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Out of some cold figures, came a story to warm America's heart

NOT LONG AGO, the Secretary of the United States Treasury studied a figure-covered sheet of paper.

The figures revealed a steady, powerful upswing in the sale of U. S. Savings Bonds, and an equally steady decrease in Bond Redemptions.

But to the Secretary, they revealed a good deal more than that, and Mr. Snyder spoke his mind:

"If you give them the facts," he said, "you can always depend on the common sense and long-range judgment of the American people.

"The last few months have given us heart-warming proof of that.

"After the Victory Loan, sales of U. S. Savings Bonds went down—redemptions went up. And that was only natural and human.

"It was natural and human—but it was also dangerous. For suppose this trend had continued. Suppose that, in this period of reconversion, some 80 million Americans had decided not only to stop saving, but to spend the $40 billion which they had *already* put aside in Series E, F & G Savings Bonds. The picture which *that* conjures up is not a pretty one!

"But the trend did NOT continue.

"Early last fall, the magazines of this country—nearly a thousand of them, acting together—started an advertising campaign on Bonds. This, added to the continuing support of other media and advertisers, gave the American people the facts . . . told them why it was important to buy and hold U. S. Savings Bonds.

"The figures on this sheet tell how the American people responded—and mighty good reading it makes.

"Once more, it has been clearly proved that when you give Americans the facts, you can then ask them for action—and *you'll get it!*"

What do the figures show?

On Mr. Snyder's sheet were some very interesting figures.

They showed that sales of Savings Bonds went from $494 million in last September to $519 million in October and kept climbing steadily until, in January of this year, they reached a new postwar high: **In January, 1947, Americans put nearly a billion dollars in Savings Bonds. And that trend is continuing.**

In the same way, redemptions have been going just as steadily downward. Here, too, the trend continues.

Moreover, there has been, since the first of the year, an increase not only in the volume of Bonds bought through Payroll Savings, but in the number of buyers.

How about YOU? The figures show that millions of Americans have realized this fact: there is no safer, surer way on earth to get the things you want than by buying U. S. Savings Bonds regularly.

They are the safest investment in the world. They pay you $4 for every $3 at the end of 10 years. And you can buy them automatically, almost painlessly today, through either of two plans:

If you are eligible for the Payroll Plan, for your own sake and your family's sake, get on it . . . and watch your savings mount up.

If you are not eligible for the Payroll Plan, but have a checking account, see your banker and get him to tell you about the new Bond-a-Month Plan.

Either of them will set you on the road to financial security, and the happiness that comes with it.

Save the easy, automatic way—with U. S. Savings Bonds

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New Republic

VOLUME 116, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1993, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 12, 1947

News in Focus

Oversold

Foreign Affairs

GEORGE C. MARSHALL'S brief honeymoon with Congress was over. His prestige was as high as ever, but that would no longer guarantee automatic approval of Truman Administration foreign-policy measures on Capitol Hill.

If Marshall had hoped Washington would be a relief after Moscow, he was learning better. He returned from the grueling conference of Big Four Foreign Ministers to find he had inherited stiff fights on half a dozen fronts to keep Congress from hamstringing vital parts of the State Department's program in world affairs. Congress was asking a lot of embarrassing questions and demanding prompt answers. On some issues, even Marshall's answers might not satisfy.

Here, in brief, was the situation Marshall faced:

¶ Determined action by Italian-American groups and their allies to block Senate confirmation of the Allied peace treaty with Italy.

¶ Pruning by the House of $150 million from the Administration's requested $350 million foreign-relief bill.

¶ A bitter House fight on the Senate-passed Truman Doctrine bill providing $400 million in military and economic assistance for Greece and Turkey (the bill had squeaked through the powerful House Rules Committee by the margin of a single vote).

¶ A House committee threat to wipe out entirely the State Department's $31 million international information program, including the "Voice of America" broadcasts in 25 languages.

¶ Senate rebellion at voting funds by which the US could make good its contract to deliver a final $17 million in goods to Russia as part of the lend-lease windup.

¶ Increasing Republican pressure, led by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R, Mich.), for ouster of Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden and an end to the firm US policy toward Argentina.

For some of these difficulties, the Administration had only itself to blame. It had done too good a job of selling the Greek-Turkish aid program as a crusade against communism. Foes of the Italian treaty were now saying its disarmament provisions would leave Italy powerless against aggressive, Communist-dominated Yugoslavia. They asked: What sense does it make to ask us to prop up Greece and Turkey against communism while leaving Italy vulnerable to Communist infiltration? Noting that a part of the projected $350 million foreign relief was slated for Poland, some congressmen asked a similar question during the turbulent debate on that bill: Why ask us to help bolster a Communist-led regime in Poland while spending millions to block communism in other countries? As for the Administration's effort to carry out its post-lend-lease contract with Russia, it brought charges from Senator Styles Bridges (R, N. H.) and others that the State Department was "carrying water on both shoulders."

The anti-Communist fervor was even adding to the already formidable obstacles in the path of Spruille Braden and his insistence that Argentina fulfill her pledges to deport former German agents. Some self-styled experts on Latin America like Senators Kenneth S. Wherry (R, Neb.) and Owen Brewster (R, Maine) had figured out that Braden's anti-Nazi stand with regard to Argentina was promoting communism there, too.

But even the crusading spirit against communism had not been strong enough to date to save the US international information program. In vain did Assistant Secretary of State William Benton argue with economy-bent Republicans that Russia had a program for telling her story to the world much more extensive than that contemplated by the US. Congress seemed to be willing to spend $400 million on the controversial Truman Doctrine, but was curiously unwilling to give the State Department a fraction of that amount to attempt to explain itself before the world.

It would take more than Marshall's endorsement to save the information program. Strong leadership from a Republican with the prestige of a Vandenberg or a Taft was required. None had offered his services. Vandenberg, in fact, had served notice that his own burden on behalf of the Administration was already too heavy and that someone else would have to carry the ball on that issue.

Vandenberg's overnight switch from pro to con on fulfilling the $17 million post-lend-lease contract with Russia also had apparently doomed Administration

"Little Influence"

THE magazine *Steel*, spokesman for the industry whose prices are a basic influence in the US mass-production economy, reported last week that recent wage settlements had removed the possibility of an "immediate" price cutback. "Government pressure for lower steel prices is expected to continue but it is believed likely such will have little influence. . . ." First-quarter profits for 1947 were evidently more persuasive. Some samples: US Steel, $39,234,511; Bethlehem, $16,090,426 (all-time record); Republic, $11,516,795.

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efforts on that matter. One afternoon, Vandenberg was telling the Senate he would regret it "if we should not scrupulously keep our word on these last, lingering commitments." The next day, he was saying, in a press statement: "I would make no further shipments . . . unless and until the Soviet Union satisfactorily cures its long default in negotiating a general lend-lease settlement."

As for Spruille Braden, no one knew whether Marshall was disposed to make any fight for him and his Argentine policy. Most informed persons guessed that he was not.

Marshall privately had expressed hope that US differences with the Peron government could soon be settled so that the inter-American defense-treaty conference at Rio de Janeiro could be convened. And here again, Vandenberg figured heavily. The Michigan Republican long has been concerned about restoration of "hemisphere unity" and conclusion of the defense pact. He had never publicly voiced concern over Argentina's failure to deport key German agents and eradicate Nazism (see page 10). His friends had said he would seek a showdown with Marshall on Braden after the Moscow Conference.

Vandenberg's position was strong. He had carried the ball effectively for the Administration on many foreign-policy issues. His help would be needed even more in the future on such matters as the projected $600 million program for Korea. There seemed to be a good chance that on the Braden issue President Truman and Marshall might decide to give Vandenberg his pound of flesh.

Private Pattern

Labor

As THE nationwide wage pattern became more firmly molded by 15-cent-an-hour increases for steel, aluminum and electrical workers, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company mellowed its insistence on wage arbitration and offered modest increases to over half the nation's 340,000 striking telephone employees.

Raise offers of from $2 to $5 weekly, initially rejected by the NFTW unions, were the first indication that the impasse of the month-old dispute might be broken. By the end of last week the telephone companies had offered some 170,000 workers wage increases. Covered by the offer were six NFTW groups (Northwestern, Wisconsin, Michigan, West Coast, Illinois and long-lines operators), which, with the exception of two of Illinois' three unions, turned the company down, and six independent unions (four in New York, one in New England and one in Pennsylvania). Local operators and business-office employees in New York agreed to go back to work under wage increases ranging from $3 to $5 per week. In Illinois, the commercial and clerks' unions accepted $4, but the operators' union, largest of the three, rejected it.

In view of wage settlements in other industries since the telephone strike began, NFTW union leaders were reluctant to yield from their $6-a-week demand. They pointed to increases granted during the past month: steel, automobile, aluminum, General Electric, Westinghouse and RCA workers, all up 15 cents an hour; meat packers, up $4 a week; and oil workers, up $8 a week. Said Henry Mayer, attorney for the NFTW, "It makes no sense for a huge corporation like this to offer what is so far below the national pattern." (The Bell System, a $7 billion corporation, is the largest ever tackled by a union.)

The Bell System at first replied that the various boards of arbitration would decide the extent to which recent wage settlements in other industries have a bearing on telephone wages "in the communities where employees work." Two days later the company changed its policy and made its first wage-increase offer of $2.50 across-the-board to the Northwest area's 16,000 workers. But the first major wage break came when AT&T offered 22,000 long-lines employees salary increases of $2, $3 and $4.

As government conciliators, union and company officials kept hard at it, there were signs that the telephone industry's first and longest nationwide strike was on its way to settlement. But even after wages were agreed upon, there would be stumbling blocks over such local issues as union shop, pensions and territorial differentials.

Deadline

THE pension plan of the Bell Telephone System cancels accumulated seniority whenever an employee is absent from work for more than 30 days for any reason other than "illness, leave of absence or temporary layoffs." After 20 to 30 years of continuous employment 16,000 retired telephone workers are collecting an average of $72 a month under the plan. In 1921, the New England Telephone Company broke a strike in Boston by threatening to wipe out pension benefits. This week the nationwide telephone strike would have passed the 30-day pension deadline.

Murder, Incorporated

Germany

WHEN Hermann Goering's Luftwaffe massacred 20,000 people in a single Rotterdam raid, the job was done with I. G. Farben explosives. The Nazi tanks that ground into Poland burned I. G. Farben fuel, scorched the enemy with I. G. Farben flame throwers. In the death camps of Belsen, Dachau, Oswiecim, Birkenau, it was I. G. Farben gases and poisons that shriveled the lungs and dissolved the stomachs of thousands of internees. This week 24 top-ranking executives of I. G. Farben's six-billion-mark chemical combine were called to account.

A 20,000-word indictment submitted by Brigadier General Telford Taylor, chief US war-crimes prosecutor, charged the I. G. Farben officials with crimes as black and numerous as those preferred at Nuremberg against Goering, von Ribbentrop *et al.* The chief significance of the US move was that, for the first time in history, industrialists were being brought to the bar for their part in scheming war. Five broad counts were leveled at the accused: (1) conspiring with Hitler to wage aggression; (2) plundering and spoliation of 15 countries; (3) use of slave labor in Farben plants; (4) membership in the SS (three defendants); (5) participation in a common plan or conspiracy. Heading the list of defendants was Carl Krauch, chairman of the board of directors of Farben's 400 German concerns, which in turn were linked with 500 foreign affiliates.

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Taylor's indictment fired a warning shot across the bows of certain US industries, hinted of more to come. Immediately prior to the war, it declared, several American corporations entered into cartel agreements with Farben which limited production of strategic materials among Germany's potential enemies. Specifically mentioned was an agreement among the Dow Chemical Company, the Aluminum Company of America and Farben which put a ceiling on US magnesium production and restricted US exports to Great Britain. Another agreement cited was one which stopped manufacture of atabrine, quinine substitute, in the US up to the outbreak of war. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was said to have entered into a Farben pact which delayed production of buna rubber in the US until 1940. The indictment asserted a du Pont subsidiary had agreed to withhold American tetrazene-primed ammunition from Britain until early 1941.

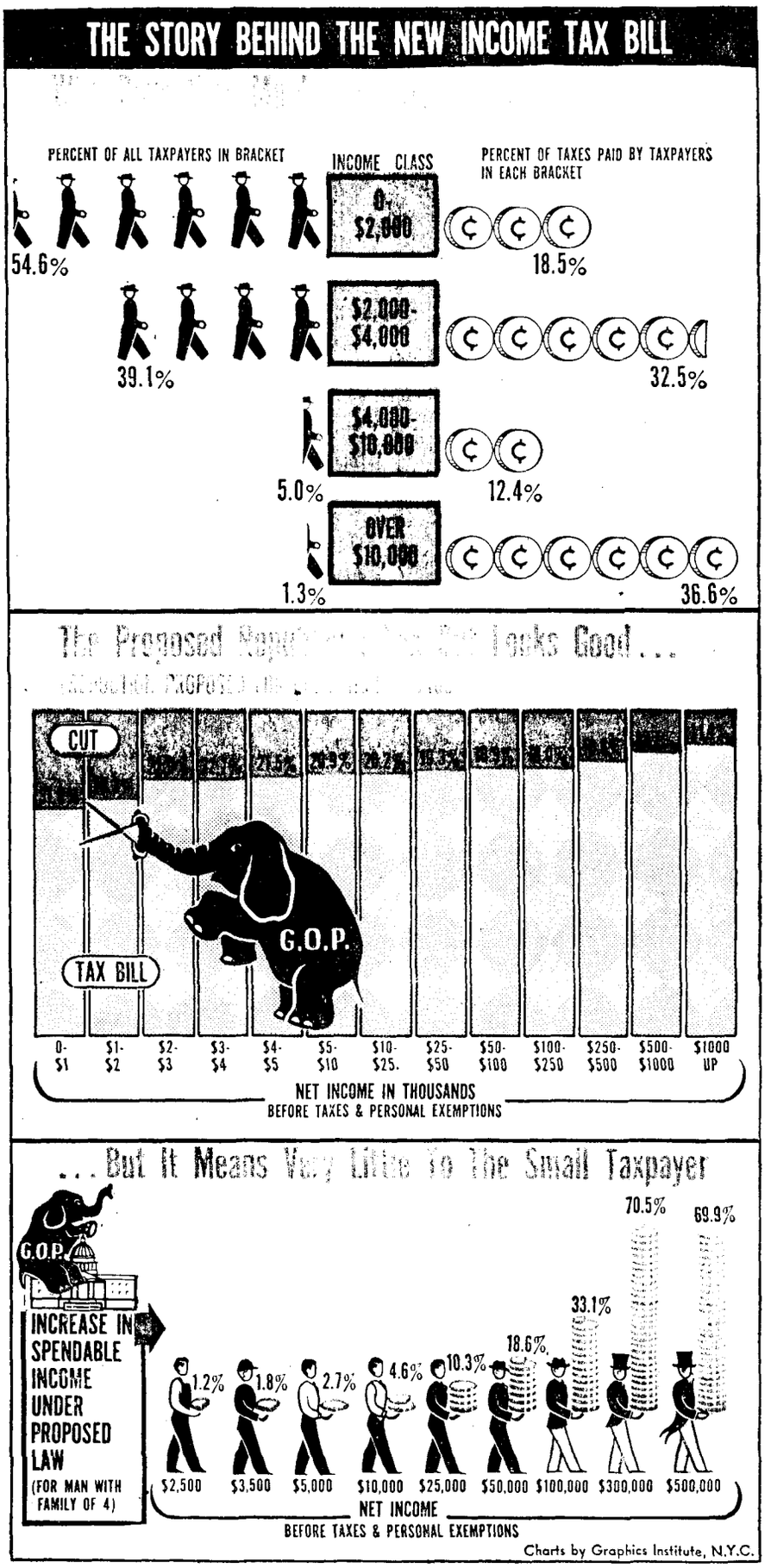
With these revelations as a beginner, the world braced itself to hear for the first time at the forthcoming trials a detailed account of the murderous operations of Adolf Hitler's silent partner.

Them That Has . . .

Taxes

THE Senate was getting around this week to the Republican tax bill, which the House had passed after putting only a slight kink in Representative Harold Knutson's (R, Minn.) 20-percent across-the-board formula. To judge by the hearings held by the Senate Finance Committee, the bill (H.R. 1) would not suffer fundamentally on the floor of the upper chamber. The feature making it retroactive to January 1 might be dropped, but the essential provisions, giving pint-size relief to the poor and hogshead-size relief to the rich (see charts), had shown remarkable stamina.

In committee, Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder made a weak presentation of the government's case that taxes should be maintained as an anti-inflation hedge and to pay off some of the $258 billion national debt. The Senators phrased their critical questions in laymen's terms, readily comprehensible



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to reporters and newspaper readers alike. Snyder, facing away from the press desks, often replied inaudibly, or called on one of his steel-spectacled experts to answer in terms quite over the heads of the average committee member.

Committee members comprehended more quickly the testimony of such witnesses as John W. Hanes, chairman of the board of trustees of the Tax Foundation (supported by 1,600 corporations), and Harry E. Humphreys, chairman of the government finance committee of the National Association of Manufacturers. They both supported an across-the-board cut. "We do not concede," said the NAM spokesman, "that the best interest of the whole economy . . . would be served by a concentration of the tax reduction at the bottom of the income scale."

When the CIO's assistant director of research, Stanley H. Ruttenberg, appeared to testify, only committee chairman Eugene D. Millikin (R, Colo.) was on hand to listen. Ruttenberg recalled President Truman's budget message to Congress in January: "Under the wartime tax system millions of taxpayers with small incomes are called upon to pay high rates. When the time comes for taxes to be reduced, these taxpayers will have a high priority among the claimants."

Termites

Rent Control

REPUBLICANS last week yanked out a few more supports from the nation's wobbly rent controls. The Wolcott bill, which the GOP majority passed in the House, theoretically extended tenant protection until December 31. But the measure was so filled with termites that Representative Donald O'Toole (D, N. Y.) said it really represented "legalized weakening of present controls."

¶ The bill repealed nearly all of the emergency allocation and distribution controls on building materials. Minority members of the House Banking Committee pointed out that this boon to commercial builders would "open the floodgates for a gigantic construction program to compete with the small veterans' homes in a market still plagued by material shortages and skyrocketing costs of labor and materials." Government agencies would be left without authority to channel any scarce material toward completion of the Veterans' Housing Program.

¶ Another provision would allow rents to be boosted as high as 15 percent by mutual agreement of tenants and landlords, provided leases run to or beyond December 31, 1948.

¶ Veterans would be given exclusive rights for 30 days to buy or rent newly constructed, one-family dwellings. But there is nothing to keep a contractor from letting his house stand idle for 30 days and then "sell it to his uncle or anybody he wants to," Representative "Mike" Monroney (D, Okla.) said. Since the provision referred only to completed homes, a builder could rent to a non-veteran and claim, if the case were brought into court, that the house still lacked the finishing touches.

¶ Restrictions on eviction processes would be relaxed and review of rentals outside the courts would be eliminated. Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) declared: "The hypocrisy is sickening. You cannot have rent control unless you enforce it." Evicted families, she asserted, will have neither facts nor finances to go to court.

¶ Without discussion, the House passed one amendment authorizing any county or city to end rent control within its borders at any time the housing shortage might be declared over.

¶ New construction, remodeled dwellings, housing and hotel accommodations were all removed from controls. Against this, Bureau of Census figures for January, 1947, pertinently showed that 2.2 million city families still did not have houses or apartments of their own. Another 300,000 US families were living in rented rooms, hotels and trailers. A census survey of married veterans counted between 25 and 45 percent living in rented rooms and hotels.

A motion to send the bill back to committee was tentatively approved (157 to 147) and then defeated on a roll call (189 to 197). Those who wanted the bill strengthened (mostly Democrats) voted for the motion with the hope that the committee would be forced to restore housing and rent safeguards. They were joined, however, by several Southern Democrats and a group of Republicans whose aim was outright decontrol. Speaker Joe Martin and Majority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.) found it necessary to leave the rostrum and buttonhole enough Republicans to preserve the GOP strategy of death by slow degrees.

Wide Open Spaces

ON May Day ("Labor's Day"), Texas' Governor Beauford Jester signed the fifth bill enacted by this session of the state legislature to curb union activity. The latest restriction flatly prohibits "mass picketing"—defined to include labor gatherings where individuals parade less than 50 feet apart. The number of pickets allowed at any gate of a struck plant in Texas is henceforth limited to a maximum of two.

Confetti

China

ALONG Shanghai's damp streets this week a crop of brown, red, green leaves swirled in the spring wind. A scarlet-shirted street sweeper on Nanking Road stared glumly at a bunch of them harpooned on his stick, then scraped them into a basket. As they fell apart, like a wet deck of cards, he could see the sad face of Sun Yat-sen engraved on the handsome currency of the Republic of China.

Money lay in the gutter with cigarette butts and suffered by comparison. Earthen-faced orphans grubbed for the tobacco but myriads of $100, $200 (Chinese) bills lay untouched like so much confetti. Even the children's minds grasped this simple arithmetic: 500 Chinese dollars were worth just four copper American pennies. In Tientsin, Tsingtao, Canton, Kunming, in the dusty farm communities of the interior, the people clutched stacks of paper when they trudged to the street markets, came back with a bowl of rice. The ricksha boys who once sweated out miles for $500 shook their heads at twenty times that much. But while ricksha rates jumped with the exchange, factory

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workers and teachers looked at their fixed incomes with helpless panic; farmers sank deeper into their perennial mire of debt.

When the war with Japan ended, the Chinese dollar stood at 500 to $1 US currency. The black-market exchange rate had since slumped to 18,000 to $1. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government, making up its deficits by printing more money, this week withdrew all notes under $500 from circulation and issued a gaily colored $10,000 bill to meet the requirements of inflation.

It Pays . . .

Business

THINGS have been going so well for the labor program sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers (13 states have already outlawed the

Idea

Connecticut

WHEN a train pulls into South Norwalk, the passengers sometimes have to look twice to be sure of their stop. The station house is a dirty yellow, like the others on the line, and commuters' automobiles wait in patient rows, the same as in suburban Greenwich or Westport. It is beyond the station that the town's peculiar trademark lies—square houses built wall-to-wall, hat factories and metal plants squatting behind somber windows. But last week Norwalk carried itself with a special air.

During the evening rush at the station there was unusual confusion on the railroad platform. Instead of waiting dutifully in the family car, Norwalk's wives moved up and down on the platform—apparently collecting autographs, columns of them, on long sheets of paper. Actually, they were selling an idea. The gist of the idea was printed in neat black type on a paper called the Norwalk Petition.

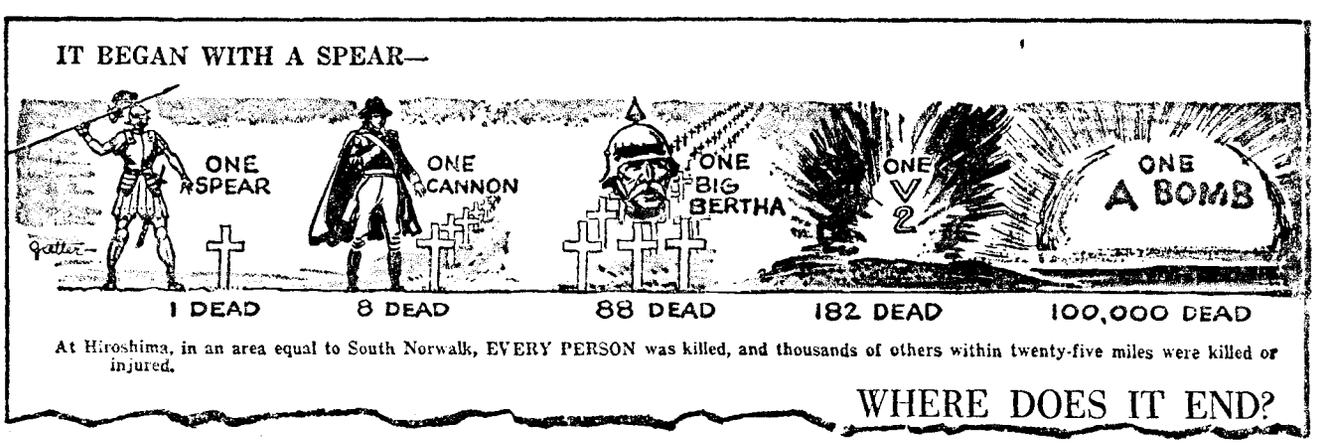
To the folks who crowded around to sign it, the paper represented a respectful message to the government of the US from the citizens of the town (population, 42,000): "We, the people of Norwalk, Connecticut, recognize the still present danger of war. We believe it of critical urgency that the United Nations be given the machinery of world law called for in the preamble to the UN Charter. . . . In particular we advocate measures which would strengthen the UN so that: (1) No nation can back out; (2) No nation can defy it; (3) No nation can make atom bombs." Thus read the tangible part of the idea that stirred through the people of Norwalk, written as simply as they could put it down.

Not many missed the chance to add their names to that simple plea. In six days more than 18,000 factory workers, teen-agers, housewives, tradespeople, commuters put down their names for 18,000 different, quiet reasons. A felt-cutter at the Dobbs plant did his signing during lunch hour, with a sandwich in one hand and a pencil in the other—and grinned at the idea of his falling for a petition ("I wonder what the guys in the outfit would think"). It was enough reason that it made him feel good to sign. The idea worked inside other people suddenly remembering half-forgotten wishes and old fears. It made a white-haired lady named Mrs. Joseloff go around and around the town with copies of the petition, until she got so tired she had to stop walking. And when she drove her car home, the mission still gripped her so strongly that she dented a fender on the garage door.

NOBODY knew exactly how the notion got started. Back last winter there had been a meeting in the high school; and Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, had told his audience exactly what he had seen the atom bomb do at Bikini. "That's what it was like. Do you think you can sit back with that on your minds?" Mrs. Marion Diller, housewife, had leaped to her feet to ask what could be done. Her question had started people thinking and planning the petition. But somehow the idea was made up of other pieces that didn't stick to an event or particular day that everyone could remember.

By the time the petition was finally ready and in the hands of 400 volunteer workers, Norwalkers were ready for it, too. Not because Mayor Kelley had proclaimed a "Norwalk Petition Day" and asked everyone to sign. And not altogether because of the movies and pamphlets (see cut below) that the petition committee had been distributing for months. It was more because the idea itself had been there for a long while like an incessant rain beating on a dusty Connecticut back-country road.

Eric Malmquist, the high-school principal who was organizing the campaign, didn't try to put the whole thing into words. What was the idea made of? Well, he said, and took off his hat, there was more to it than was on the paper. There were other things—the boys coming back after V-J Day, the photograph of a corporal on somebody's mantel, Mrs. Joseloff's dented fender, John Hersey's story about Hiroshima, the good ball team the high school could have had in 1942. Malmquist smiled, sticking out his chin, as he looked over the stacks of signatures ready for President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall. "We have our hopes about this thing," he said. "We have our hopes."


IT BEGAN WITH A SPEAR—
ONE SPEAR
ONE CANNON
ONE BIG BERTHA
ONE V 2
ONE A BOMB
1 DEAD
8 DEAD
88 DEAD
182 DEAD
100,000 DEAD
At Hiroshima, in an area equal to South Norwalk, EVERY PERSON was killed, and thousands of others within twenty-five miles were killed or injured.
WHERE DOES IT END?

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Report from Buenos Aires

by William Mizelle

THE last obstacle to President Peron's absolute power fell on May 2 with the impeachment of all but one of the nation's supreme-court justices and the attorney general. The elimination of the justices, called unconstitutional by Argentine lawyers on eight counts, clears the way for the application of many debatable laws such as that giving the President power to increase import duties—constitutionally a congressional power. The impeachment bill blamed the court, not for "joining the triumphant revolution," but for "then obstructing it" by overruling numerous military-regime decrees.

The precedent set against recognition of future revolutions fortifies Peron. Also a Peron-stuffed court assuming control of the government if the dictator fell from power would throw Argentina right back to the Peronists. Peron's revolutionary government impeached Justices Antonio Sagarna, Benito Nazar Anchorena and Francisco Ramos Mejia on charges centering around their recognition of that very revolution. Justice Roberto Repetto had already resigned. Only a newcomer, Justice Tomas D. Casares, remains.

The anticipated stuffing of the court with Peronists will make it a rubber stamp like the Argentine Congress while preserving the appearance of a three-branch government. The Senate tribunal decision cut doubly at democracy's characteristic counterbalance as six other independent jurists resigned last Friday in protest.

Before the war William Mizelle was a newspaperman in Birmingham, Alabama. After serving as a Navy lieutenant, he worked for the UP in New York, and is now writing for US magazines in Buenos Aires.

The Argentine Federation of Attorneys called "the removal of the essential guarantee of the independence of the judiciary the most serious injury to the juridical and political structure of the nation" in the republic's history.

DURING the week of the court's impeachment, which Peron said would complete his revolution, Vittorio Mussolini made an open appearance in Buenos Aires which was regarded as Italian fascism's first overt bid to make a comeback from the new world.

A locally printed Italian-language sheet on April 27 carried a front-page portrait of the erstwhile Duce, and the caption, "If I die, avenge me." An accompanying story included notes from Italian officers swearing to restore fascism. The paper sold out immediately. Simultaneously, Vittorio came out of hiding to a fanfare of welcome and eulogy.

The next day, the onetime fascist youth leader led a mass meeting of fascist Italians and Argentines in a memorial tribute to his father. "I still have a fervid adoration for my father and Il Duce, especially on this April anniversary of his sacrifice," Vittorio told the assemblage. At the same time wreaths in tribute to the dead dictator appeared on Italian monuments in Argentina's three biggest cities.

The newspaper *Critica* editorially "extended a hand to Vittorio in his search for peace and forgetfulness." The tabloid *Sabado* dramatized his voyage to South America, disguised and on a false passport. The paper depicted him dreaming of his children crying, "Papa."

Now dull-eyed and paunchy, the man who thrilled when his bombing of Ethiopian native crowds made them "blossom like great red flowers," got nearly 2,000 written responses to his blood-brother appeal to Argentina's large Italian population, made through *Sabado's* columns.

It was *Sabado* also that announced Vittorio's successful entry plea after he had appeared before Argentine immigration authorities. These authorities allow an illegal entrant into the country six months to apply for legal status.

Members of the anti-fascist Italian embassy here, knowing that Argentina has arranged to import thousands of Italian immigrants, apparently are the only people worried about Vittorio's emergence in Argentina as a potential leades for a revived Italian fascism.

closed shop) that the NAM is beginning to shed a traditional shyness to talk about itself. NAM's vice-president for public relations, Holcomb Parkes, has spoken up with remarkable candor about the millions of dollars spent by his organization to "crystallize" American public opinion.

¶ Advertising—Parkes boasted to a NAM meeting that typical NAM ads (". . . industrywide bargaining and the closed shop . . . are contrary to the American way of life") were appearing in 73 daily newspapers with 23.5 million circulation. One ad was "multiplied many times" by 101,000 reprints for display in the plants of members. NAM groups inserted the message in 92 additional small-town papers.

¶ Publicity—"We have prepared 10 magazine articles on labor alone since the first of the year," Parkes said. The Industrial Press Service clipsheet, "which goes to some 5,500 weekly newspapers," found the NAM's slant on labor worth 13 stories, eight features, six editorials and 10 cartoons during the same period.

¶ Radio—The NAM radio staff produces "It's Your Business" over 113 stations on the network of the American Broadcasting Company. "Of the first 13 shows this year, eight were devoted to labor," Parkes conceded. The NAM's weekly "Briefs for Broadcasters," distributed to 839 stations, carried special notes on labor in 10 of its issues for 1947.

¶ Periodicals—To give community opinion leaders "insight into industry's point of view," the NAM published four periodicals of its own: *Program Notes* goes to 40,000 women's clubs; *Understanding* reaches 20,000 clergymen; *Farm and Industry* is sent to 20,000 selected farmers; *Trends* is mailed to 40,000 educators. In this barrage of NAM-financed reading matter, 28 stories have already appeared on "various aspects of our labor program."

Summing up the accomplishments of vice-president Parkes, the *NAM News* commented that "even some board members, close as they are to NAM's many activities, seemed surprised at the scope of its public-relations machinery."

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Washington Wire

Case of Schizophrenia

CONGRESS is dragging its feet on international affairs. It's growing balky. A committee threw out the State Department overseas-broadcast appropriation (likely to be restored); the House reduced foreign-relief appropriations over 40 percent (likely to be restored, in part, by the Senate); the Greek-Turkish aid program squeaked through the Rules Committee by only one vote, cast by the chairman, who announced he would oppose the measure on the floor. A tremendous job of explanation and salesmanship is ahead if he gets the Administration's ambitious economic program to aid Western Europe through.

Congress is all upset. It's an ultra-conservative Congress with two desires: kick communism; cut taxes. Trouble is these two goals now seem in conflict. Congress has a bad case of schizophrenia. World problems are pouring in on the US; the average congressman is getting sulkier and sulkier. We listened to four days' debate in the reactionary House Rules Committee, before it permitted the House to take up the Greek aid bill. It was painful. The arguments were so confused and contradictory that we don't see how they could give much comfort to anybody. Representative R. F. Rich (R, Pa.) opposed fighting communism by aiding Greece, because, as he put it, he wanted to use the money "to fight communism at home." Other Republicans insisted the State Department is itself full of Communists. The Greek-Turkish program will, of course, get a big majority in the House, though smaller than the 67-to-23 ratio of the Senate.

But in both chambers, members feel themselves committed by the President, and without full freedom of choice. Many of them will object still more to later economic aid. This confusion isn't healthy, any way you look at it. There's little comfort in it for internationalists. What's happening, as we figure it out, is that the historic, postwar revulsion against international responsibilities is setting in, just as a five-ton coal load of new responsibilities pours down the chute on legislators. Congress is irritated, upset, uncertain.

On international affairs, it's a rank-and-file, bipartisan revolt, just as much against Republican as Democratic leadership. On domestic affairs an equally interesting development is occurring, but on a partisan basis. After four months, the GOP 80th Congress is beginning to send over its big bills to the White House, and the inevitable clash between a Democratic President and a Republican legislature is at hand. The first big veto should be on the Gwynne portal-pay-ban bill. Theoretically, this is aimed at stopping "walking-time" suits; actually the legislation is so sweeping that its enactment would just about knock the props out from under one of the New Deal's biggest reforms, the 1938 wage-hour law. We can't imagine anything but a Truman veto, and it should be couched in vigorous language.

Looking ahead, we should also expect vetoes of the pending GOP tax-cut bill, and the Hartley-Taft labor bill. It's little use crossing bridges ahead of time, but the history of divided political control in Washington is one of deadlock and stalemate, and at the moment Truman and Congress seem headed in that direction, at least on domestic affairs.

IN THE current *Harper's*, John Fischer's piece, "The Lost Liberals," summarizes 50 years of anti-trust legislation. Trust-busting just hasn't worked, he says; the trusts are here, bigger than ever—why not recognize the fact? Federal regulation by commissions hasn't worked very well, either, he says; look at the weak, wrist-patting FCC trying to control the bullying broadcasting giants. Even before the war the Temporary National Economic Committee reported that 200 big groups, about one-tenth of one percent of the corporations in America, owned about half of the country's production facilities.

Fischer proposes a bold, new, long-range change of strategy in dealing with this basic problem of American economic democracy: why not recognize that these 200 giants are here to stay, he asks, and demand that they assume a new status, not as private business but as public institutions? Fischer doesn't suggest nationalization, but a quasi-public status such as that of some of the big utilities in prewar Britain, where the government was close enough to management to ensure responsibility.

Indeed, as Fischer observes, anybody watching Washington at first-hand must feel the long-drawn battle against economic concentration has largely failed. We have a curious counterpart of Moscow right here in America—the creeping collectivism of monopoly capitalism.

LOBBYISTS must register under a new federal law; in the first quarter of 1947, 500 organizations announced responsibility for 745 lobbyists—a total of well over $1 million was spent in trying to influence Congress. Largest single spender was the Gannett-sponsored Committee for Constitutional Government, with $137,910. This it spent fighting: (1) communism; (2) trade unions; and (3) high income taxes. Paid lobbyist Willford I. King gets $7,800 a year, plus expenses, from this group; King also teaches one class at New York University.

NOTES. – Tris Coffin's excellent book, *Missouri Compromise*, gives the first detailed story of Washington since Roosevelt. . . . The West is up in arms over GOP reclamation cuts. . . . Stalin twice asked Stassen about a possible US economic crisis, underlining Soviet fascination with our pet recession.

Washington T. R. B.

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Henry Wallace

Report on France

BACK in America, one dominant impression of Europe stands out in my mind—the impression that we are witnessing the birth of One World.

No one traveling through Western Europe today can fail to be made aware of the interdependence of nations. The impact of every American action on Europe is startlingly clear. One day the impact of postwar Europe on America will also be felt.

I sensed the unity of the world in many ways. I spoke to audiences of all political faiths in Western Europe. To these audiences I spoke exactly as I would to progressives in America. I made the same points, with the same emphasis, and the response was precisely the same. The outstanding difference was that these audiences in Europe were of all political parties. In Europe, the progressive internationalist spirit is the spirit of the great majority of the people. Here it is still the spirit of a minority. Implicit in that contrast is one of the deepest reasons for the lack of world unity and the present drift toward war.

A fortunate accident brought to light for me the depth of internationalism in Europe. Attacks in the American press led me to defend myself throughout Western Europe in terms of world citizenship and the new world law of the United Nations. These assertions brought forth the deepest response from all groups. It convinced me that everywhere the necessity for world unity is causing the concept of world citizenship to be born.

In all Western Europe, France is still the classical center of internationalism and democracy. Around France, the other nations of Western Europe revolve. Today the struggle for Western Europe between extremes of the Left, led by Russia, and extremes of the Right, provoked by Republicans such as John Foster Dulles, is growing. Germany is still the battleground for Soviet-American antagonisms, where the break may come. But the way in which the break comes will be determined by France. That is why the State Department and Dulles are calling for a shift in emphasis to France.

France today is urgently in need of American assistance. French politics is highly unstable and subject to immense pressures. If American aid is given to France on a non-political basis, then democracy will be strengthened. If, as seems probable, France is picked as the next experimental ground for the Truman Doctrine, then I predict disaster. Any attempt to use America's tremendous economic power to drive France to the Right and into an anti-Soviet bloc may end in bloodshed.

France's need for aid is tragically plain. Most urgent of all is the need for coal. By heroic efforts, France will produce 15 percent more coal this year than before the war. But she always imported 40 percent of her coal needs from Silesia, the Ruhr and Britain. These sources barely exist for France today. Most of her coal imports are drawn from America; it is poor-quality coal—they call it black dust—and it is expensive. Premier Ramadier told me that French coal production will probably fall in 1948. He spoke of an American engineer who visited a mine in Ramadier's home town. His advice was asked, and he answered, "A mine like that would have been closed in America ten years ago."

As important as coal is wheat. For Frenchmen bread is more essential than vegetables: it forms a third of their caloric diet. The terrible winter destroyed an immense quantity of grain. Imports from Latin America were delayed. France, I was told, was advised by American officials not to buy US wheat at present sky-high prices. The result has been a bread famine. In some areas of France there is no bread. In others there is bread three days a week. On my second morning in Paris I walked through the streets in the early hours. Already long bread lines had formed at the 60 percent of the Paris bakeries which remained open. That afternoon at the Matignon, Ramadier told me that the bread crisis would grow worse. Because of these shortages, Frenchmen must turn to the black market, with its astronomical prices, in order to live. The resulting pressure for wage increases threatens to split the government.

Even before this crisis, shortages of capital goods for export to America had compelled France to spend most of the proceeds of the loan negotiated by Blum on current needs. Now, coal and wheat shortages, added to

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the lack of basic farm and factory machinery and machine tools, make the production targets set as absolute minimums for safety in the Monnet Plan almost unattainable. France must be given additional aid. America can and must help France.

HOW will American aid be applied in France? Conferences with Americans and Frenchmen lasting five days convinced me that our present plans call for a political loan, conditioned on France's retreat from the progressive spirit. These conferences convinced me also that such plans invite disaster.

I spoke first to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Assembly. With the chairman of the committee, the old and frail Communist veteran, Marcel Cachin, by my side, I spoke to rows of French deputies and members of the Council of State, from a platform from which Wilson had spoken years before.

These deputies, as in all of Western Europe, had earned the right to political leadership in peacetime by leadership in the Resistance during war and occupation, when the penalty for courage was often torture and death.

For example, among the Socialists there was Mme. Brossolette, widow of the Resistance leader who killed himself rather than betray secrets of the underground under torture. There was also Daniel Mayer, who reorganized the Socialist Party as a fighting movement after its collapse at the fall of France. Among the MRP deputies there was Mme. Lefaucheux, leader of an underground group. Among the Republican Union of Resistance group, a left-wing Socialist Party, there were Emmanuel d'Astier, one of the top Resistance men, and Robert Chambeiron, secretary of the National Resistance Council.

For the Communists, there were many wartime heroes: Madeleine Braun, an underground organizer in Lyons; Laurent Casanova of the Francs-Tireurs; Pierre Hervé, who led the liberation of one section of Paris; and many others, including Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, once imprisoned and tortured, who rolled up her sleeve and showed me the prison number tattooed on her arm in a German concentration camp. Among the representatives of the extreme right-wing party, the PRL (the Republican Party of Liberty), was André Mutter, elected because of his record of great courage in the underground. I mention all these names for one reason—to demonstrate the common background of these parties, which have fought together, and the grip they hold on the French people because of the example they set during the wartime years.

In a series of conferences with spokesmen for all political parties, I met first with leaders of the Left Center and Catholic group, the MRP, which now holds five places in the Cabinet. They pointed out that their domestic program was as progressive as that of the Socialists and the Communists. They claimed that 2.5 million of their five million votes came from workers. They expressed strong distrust of Soviet Russia and supported the position taken by their leader, Georges Bidault, in opposition to the Soviet government at Moscow. But they added that Bidault's hope always was to serve as a bridge between East and West, and they expressed strong tolerance and respect for the French Communists. I spoke also with a delegation from the CFTC, the trade union of Christian workers identified with the MRP. They claimed one million workers and expressed the same progressive spirit.

I met next with the CGT, the ruling trade-union federation in France. Their leader, Jouhaux, explained to me that the strength of the CGT was greater than ever among workers and was gaining in rural areas where the Maquis had fought. With him were his three top aides, Benoit Frachon, Julien Racamond and Pierre Neumayer—all able-looking men, all leftists.

THE Socialist Party forms the core of the French government today. I had a long and memorable conversation with the great Socialist leader, Léon Blum. He

Drawing by André Gillard from Bataille Secrète en France

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was as gracious, as clear, as precise and as masterly as ever. More than ever he is the leading statesman of France.

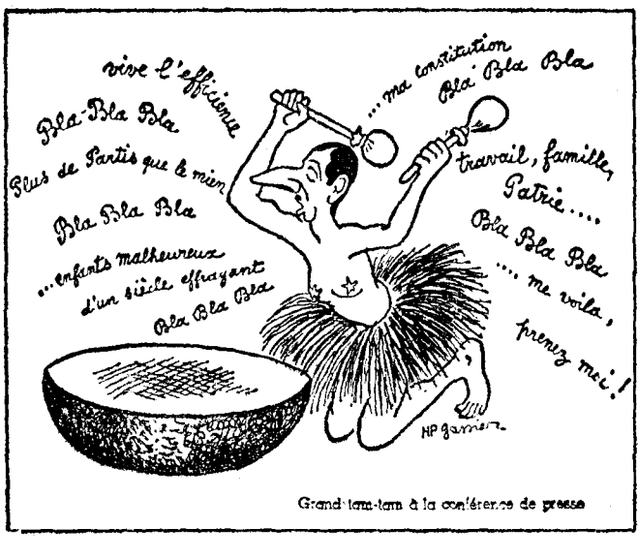
I asked Blum if the economic crisis would grow worse in France; he answered that it might be much worse next year. Sadly he shook his head and explained how hard it is for the people who looked forward to victory to understand why it has brought more and more difficult conditions. I asked if European federation might help. He felt that economically it was essential; politically, it remained for the future.

I asked what the effect of the deepening division of the world would be on the French economy. Blum replied that it would be absolutely disastrous on the foreign-trade position and the reconstruction program of France. He felt that it would be suicidal for the Socialist Party and for France to choose sides in preparation for a coming war. When I asked if the growing division of East and West would not crush the Socialist Party between extremes of Left and Right, Blum smiled; Guy Mollet, secretary of the party, answered hotly that the Socialist Party was not a Center party but was to the left of the Communists in many ways.

I asked if the economic crisis might produce dictatorship in France. Blum answered: no, if the democratic parties hold together. I asked if he looked on the Communist Party as democratic. Blum replied, "Since the war, yes. The Communists must be considered within the circle of democratic parties. Their program and their language are the same as the others. Perhaps they are sincere in their devotion to democracy. Perhaps they are not. Today the effect is the same, and I for one do not question their honesty."

I asked Blum if he were hopeful about the future. He smiled again: "Without hope I could not live."

One afternoon I heard from my hotel the chanting



Grand tam-tam à la conférence de presse

from l'Humanité

THE COMMUNIST VIEW OF DE GAULLE

of a crowd in the street outside. The chant grew louder and more insistent. The sound was a little chilling, a little reminiscent of other chanting voices heard in prewar Europe. It was a crowd gathered outside the house where de Gaulle held his first press conference after launching his new political movement. The crowd was repeatedly crying, "We want de Gaulle! We want de Gaulle!"

At Strasbourg, de Gaulle had issued his challenge to French democracy. He had condemned the inefficiency of the parliamentary system and called for "a coherent, orderly, concentrated state." All French parties united in resisting this challenge as a threat to French liberties. French Communists took the initiative in proposing the formation of councils of vigilance in all communities to guard against an effort by de Gaulle to take over the country.

I remembered this as the delegation of the Communist Party, which held five cabinet ministries until the cabinet crisis this week, arrived to see me. I had asked many conservative American newspapermen whether they regarded the Communists as agents of Moscow or as an indigenous French party. Without exception, they replied that the Communists were indigenous and were the most powerful party in France, with solid working-class backing and growing support among the peasants and middle class. The setbacks they suffered as the result of the Moscow Conference, where Molotov opposed the French position, and because of the stand taken by the Communists in defense of Viet Nam, had not undermined the basic strength of their position.

I MET most of the Communist leaders in Paris. They seemed to be well informed and forceful, with a considerable sense of responsibility. It is sad to admit that their vigor and determination contrasted sharply with the indecision and lack of courage of some other political parties.

The delegation that I spoke to was led by Jacques Duclos. He is very short, but so solid that he gives the impression of a large man compressed into a smaller and harder frame. He has been called tough and humorless. I found he possessed a good deal of humor.

I first asked Duclos why the Communists had blamed America for wheat shortages. He replied that American wheat prices were prohibitive and that American inflation in general was damaging to France. I next asked what evidence the Communists possessed to support their assertion that the American government was attempting to force France to the Right. Duclos stressed the actions of Ambassador Caffery in France. He said that Frenchmen were alarmed by President Truman's Waco, Texas, speech in which he asserted that America valued freedom, including freedom of enterprise, more

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than peace. This speech was used in France to create the impression that America would oppose nationalization of French industry and the presence of Communists in the government. "It is an impression," Duclos smiled, "and in politics impressions are of importance."

I assured him that the President did not intend the Waco speech to be used in this way. "The effect is the same," he replied.

I then asked what evidence the French Communists had for their assertion that America would support de Gaulle. Duclos pointed to de Gaulle's speeches at Strasbourg, and to his praise of Truman at his press conference. "American support is de Gaulle's one weapon," he said.

I asked his opinion of de Gaulle's program. "He has no program," Duclos answered. "Economic considerations are his last concern." "Then what in your opinion is his objective?" I asked. Duclos answered, "To take power." "How?" I asked. "He plays cards of disaster," Duclos said. "He foresees the day when an economic crisis will cause a loss of faith in French democracy."

I asked, "Would you support the French government under any circumstances as a means of defense against a threat to democracy?"

"We will do anything to keep de Gaulle out of power," Duclos said. "It is true," he added, "that the government faces great difficulties. Most of the troubles now maturing in France were set in motion during de Gaulle's administration."

Duclos stressed de Gaulle's insistence on maintaining a French army of 600,000, including 400,000 regulars. This "army of cliques," as he called it, was to him an impossible drain upon France.

He stressed also de Gaulle's broken promise to Syria and Lebanon, which drove them out of the French Union. "France," he said, "can no longer hold her colonies by force of arms. She can only hold them by force of liberty. This means giving nations like Viet Nam free and full partnership within the French Union."

I ASKED Duclos what hope he thought there was for a combined effort by the UN to raise living standards in the Middle East. He replied that there was hope in a program divorced from power politics. He expressed amazement at the stupidity, from an American point of view, of the Truman policies. "To assume that you can develop Middle East influence through Turkey shows a complete misunderstanding of that area," he said. "Turkey is known as the oldest enemy of the Arabs and other peoples of the Middle East." When I suggested that the government was not fully aware of the impact of its program, he looked at me incredulously.

"You are not children," he said. "American diplomacy has come of age."

Duclos asserted that three factors caused the Communists to gain strength among the French peasants: the Communist leadership of the Resistance; the mixing of peasants and workers in the armed forces and the Maquis; and the fact that the peasants regard the Communists as "a practical movement in contrast to the doctrinaire movements of other parties." Collectivization, he said, will never be an objective. Coöperative use of farm machinery and certain collectives in the vineyards were the limits of the application of Soviet experience.

I told the delegation that I felt that next to coal production, the modernization of agriculture was the most important objective in France. They agreed, and stressed the shortages of farm machinery and fertilizer. The fertilizer shortage they blamed on the cartel known as Francolor, which cornered and restricted production and sold out to the Nazis during the war. I asked why the cartel was not nationalized. At this Duclos smiled. "We tried," he said. "We tried also to nationalize the two remaining private banks that finance the trusts. We tried to nationalize the engineering industry. But we lacked

(Continued on page 42)

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A Longer Life and a Healthier One

by Bruce Bliven

Food scientists are proving that controlled diet can save infants, help mothers, fight disease and prolong life

ON THE thirty-second floor of a Manhattan skyscraper sits a group of men engaged in scientific work of the highest importance to this and succeeding generations. Their task is to direct and encourage carefully inaugurated research in hundreds of laboratories all over the United States. The subject is one of the most fascinating, if least known, of all the aspects of human knowledge: nutrition. Already, as a result of work done in this field in recent years and even months, we can chalk up the following definite achievements:

¶ Longer life and more abounding vitality for practically everyone, as soon as what the scientists know about food is translated into practical reality.

¶ A higher standard of health for expectant mothers during pregnancy, a great reduction in spontaneous abortion and stillbirths, fewer children born with congenital deformities, and a sharp drop in infant mortality.

¶ A pronounced reduction in tooth decay.

¶ Far better resistance than now exists to the shock of severe illness or major operations, with shorter convalescence.

¶ A food element which has the effect of increasing the ability to act with intelligence, especially in subnormal individuals.

¶ And in addition we have what seems a most promising clue to the mystery—or one of the mysteries—of cancer.

It is amazing how recently some of the most important discoveries in the field of diet have been made. It was only 14 years ago that we proved ascorbic acid, or Vitamin C, is a cure for scurvy, although for centuries the effectiveness of citrus fruits in combating the disease had been known, and British merchant ships were called "lime juicers" the world over because they carried limes for this purpose.

Eleven years ago it was discovered that thiamin, the first of the Vitamin-B complex, cures beriberi.

Eight years ago the value of niacin, or nicotinic acid, another of the B complex, in pellagra was noted.

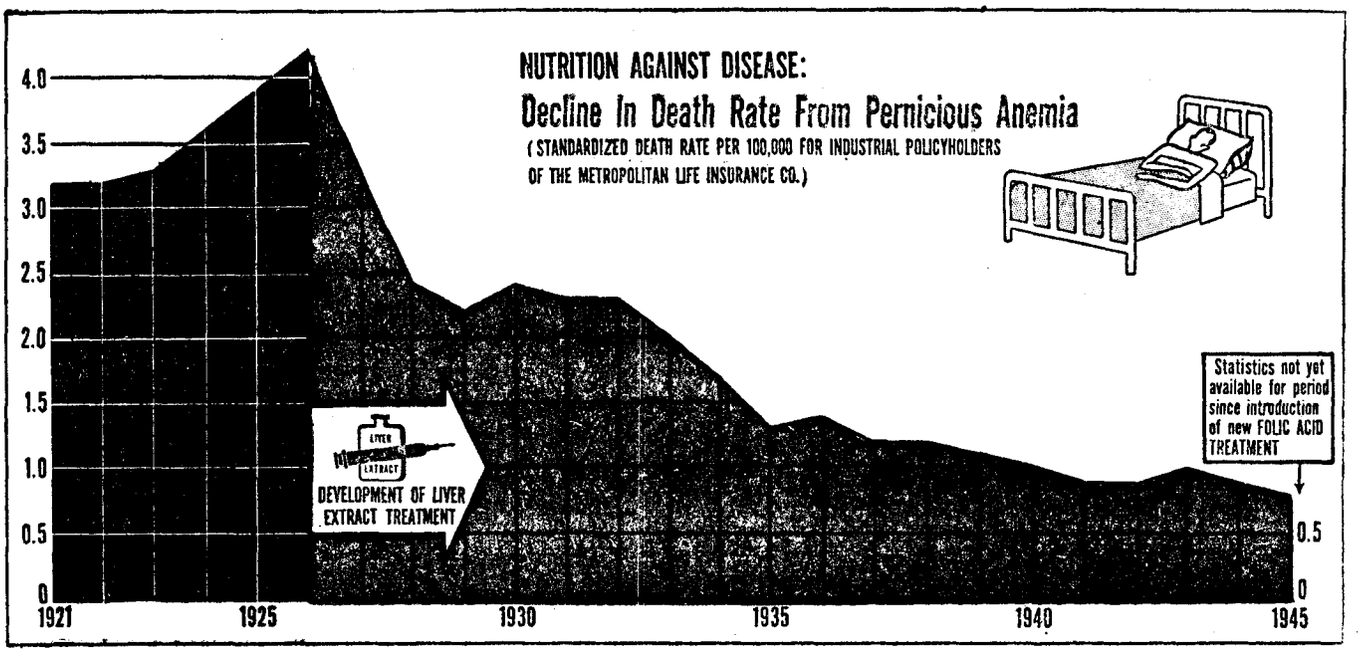
Four years ago we learned the usefulness of a high protein diet in convalescence and in treating certain diseases of the liver.

Within a year, we have found that folic acid, one of the B vitamins, has a remarkably beneficial effect in pernicious anemia.

Within the same period of time we have nailed down the importance of avoiding overweight if you would also avoid high blood pressure and various other types of heart and circulatory-system disease.

There is every reason to believe that the next few years will show equally great, and probably much greater, advance.

The organization I have mentioned is the Nutrition Foundation. Drawing its funds primarily from a large group of American business firms in all sections



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of the food industry, this foundation is coördinating and giving financial support to a formidable array of research projects now going on in scores of college and industrial laboratories. A tragedy of research has been that many times independent investigators unwittingly duplicated each other's activities; one of the functions of the Nutrition Foundation under Dr. Charles G. King, its scientific director, is to avoid such duplication, to make sure that so far as the present state of our knowledge permits, first things come first, and to see that no important line of activity is slighted because of lack of funds. As in every other major branch of science, perhaps the most serious lack at present is trained and able personnel to carry out the work which we already know needs to be done. And there is, of course, a chronic shortage of real genius, of the once-or-twice-in-a-century mind which can leap the gap of the unknown and establish the daring hypothesis afterward laboriously proved to be true.

In addition to the studies which are being conducted with the encouragement of the Nutrition Foundation, many other important developments are taking place in the field of nutrition, some of which I record below.

Diet and pregnancy

NO BETTER way exists to demonstrate the importance of nutrition research than to tell you what it can mean to mothers and babies. In the last half-century, we have reduced infant mortality about 85 percent; but *most of this reduction has come in the case of babies after the first month of life.* Carefully controlled experiments involving hundreds of cases have shown that if pregnant women get a proper diet, there is an amazing reduction in prenatal illness, spontaneous abortion, stillbirth and in babies born with weakened vitality. If experiments made on laboratory animals also prove valid for human beings, and it is reasonable to assume that they will so prove, club feet, cleft palates, blindness at birth and deformities of breastbone, jaw and other long bones can be practically wiped out with an adequate diet which costs on the average an additional $25 for each mother, through the entire pregnancy (the important months are the fourth to the ninth). The urgency of this situation is revealed when you know that these deformities kill more children each year than diphtheria, whooping cough, scarlet fever and measles combined.

¶ *By controlling the diet of expectant mothers, we can now prevent most involuntary abortions and stillbirths, as well as certain deformities in infants.*

¶ *Cow's milk has been found to be chemically a very poor substitute for mother's milk for very young babies.*

¶ *Certain types of cancer are now known to be caused by deficiency of choline, one of the vitamins.*

¶ *These and other new discoveries in the field of nutrition are reported for the first time in this, the first of two articles written by the editorial director of the* New Republic *on the basis of information furnished by leading experts in the field.*

Tests made concerning a large number of births, by the Harvard School of Public Health, showed some remarkable results:

¶ Of the babies born in poor condition, four-fifths had mothers whose diet had been conspicuously bad.

¶ In 60 percent of such cases, the mothers suffered prenatal disturbances.

¶ Of those with good diet only one-third had prenatal disturbances.

¶ When the mothers had good diets, the children weighed at birth *two pounds and three ounces more on the average.*

¶ Among 216 cases, with only a single exception, mothers had had inadequate diet in every case in which the infant was premature, or stillborn, or died within a few days, or was born functionally immature. This was also true of nearly all the babies with congenital defects. This study showed clearly that in the case of an inadequate diet *the unborn baby suffers more than does the mother.*

Another striking demonstration of these facts was recently developed in a test among 2,000 expectant mothers at the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, reported by Dr. W. T. Tompkins of the Division of Obstetrics and Gynecology to the New York Academy of Medicine. These expectant mothers, among whom none had syphilis, active tuberculosis or serious heart trouble, were carefully coached from the outset in regard to the kind of food and the quantity of food they should eat. Day after day, week after week, the doctors and nurses repeated the instructions and checked to make sure that the diet lists were being followed.

Astonishing success

AMONG these women there were only eight cases of infant mortality, *compared with 104 cases* in a second group of mothers, otherwise equal in all respects, to whom the special diet instruction had not been given. There were six premature births *as compared with 81* in the second group. Mild toxic conditions among the expectant mothers were reduced 75 percent. In other words, if we assume that large numbers of mothers in the United States today don't get an adequate diet, correcting this condition would save the lives of some 200,000 babies who are stillborn or die in infancy each year; and probably several times that number would be born free of deformities and with a substantially higher chance of leading a long and healthy life.

In this experiment, pills containing multiple vitamins were added to the diet. Great importance was laid on protein derived from meat, of which the patients got 100 grams (nearly four ounces) per day. They received 75 grams (about three ounces) of fat and 270 grams (about 10 ounces) of carbohydrates. Because most pregnant women take too much fluid and too much sugar, these were given only one serving of fruit or fruit juice per day and encouraged to take six small meals rather than three large ones. There was a marked reduction in fatigue, vertigo and the familiar "morning sickness" which is believed to result from energy depletion of the mother because of the nutritional demands of the foetus.

We are only beginning to realize that a pregnant woman requires a substan-

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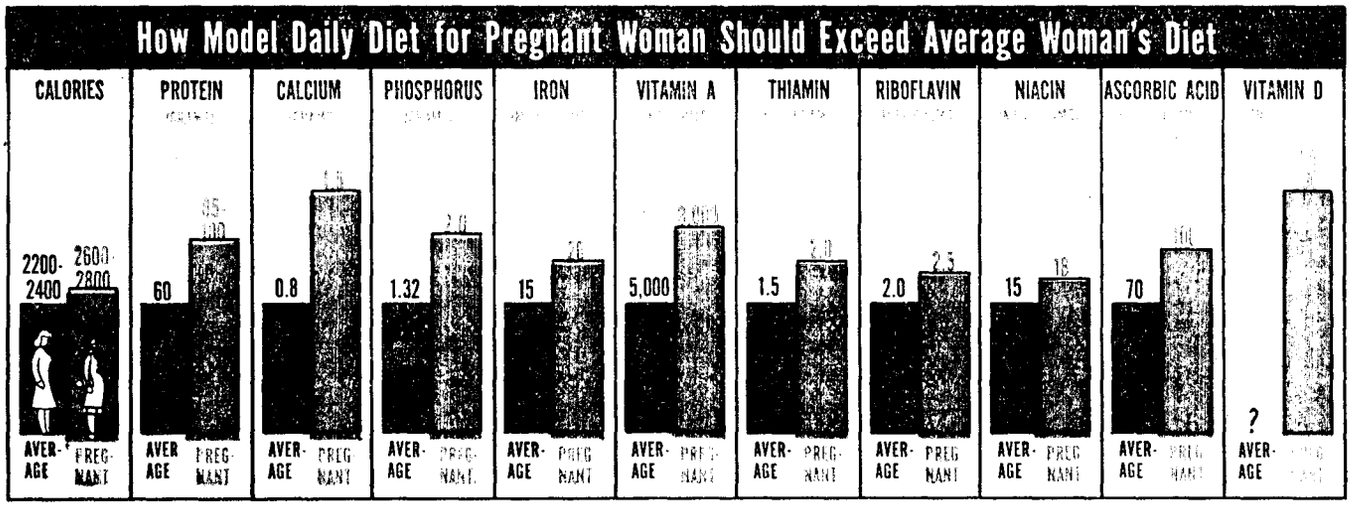

tially better diet than she does before pregnancy. She needs, for instance:

One-sixth more calories.
Two-thirds more protein.
Twice as much calcium.
Fifty percent more phosphorus.
Twenty-five percent more iron.
Sixty percent more Vitamin A.
Twenty-five percent more thiamin.
Twenty-five percent more riboflavin.
Twenty percent more niacin.
Forty percent more ascorbic acid.
And she needs at least 400 to 800 International Units of Vitamin D each day.

It seems clear, then, that if conditions throughout the United States are comparable with those existing in special cities at special times, an expenditure of only $25 for each expectant mother would give all the benefits described to every mother and baby in the United States. For the whole country this would cost roughly $70 million per year. It is hard to think of any other single expenditure which would bring back so much in the way of improvement of our most precious natural asset—our national health.

Breast feeding

AN IMPORTANT fact recently discovered in regard to nutrition is the great desirability of having the baby fed on mother's milk for at least the first 30 days of its life. During that length of time, her milk not only differs widely from cow's milk; it *also differs widely from her own milk at a later time.* Nature has arranged things so that the mother's milk, during the infant's first few weeks of life, contains exactly the elements required at just that time. The doctors who have studied this subject most closely say that practically never does a mother's milk disagree with her baby if she has had an adequate diet. When it seems to do so, something else, perhaps of a psychological character, is at fault.

Cow's milk is a perfect food—for calves. It is also an excellent food for human adults and for children too old for breast feeding. But cow's milk is intended to nourish an organism which comes to full maturity in a year or so, instead of in 15 to 20 years, as is the case with human beings. Here is a list of the important differences between cow's milk and human milk:

¶ Cow's milk has only half as much Vitamin A; it has only 40 percent as much ascorbic acid, Vitamin C; it has less than half as much niacin; it has only half as much of the recently isolated and important inositol; it has only one-ninth of the precious folic acid, which performs such miracles in building red blood cells.

¶ Of certain substances, cow's milk has more than mother's milk. For instance, it has two and one-half times too much thiamin, it has seven times too much riboflavin, it has one-third too much pantothenic acid. These differences deserve careful study to see just how important they are and whether cow's milk should be modified for use by very young infants in those cases where mother's milk is entirely unavailable.

Today, 40 percent of all American mothers refuse even to try to nurse their babies. Some are too busy with social or professional careers. Some fear that they will develop pendulous breasts. Some have the utterly fallacious idea that there is a scientific formula which is better for the baby than their own milk. No such formula exists, except possibly in the rarest cases.

Experience has shown that even under the nerve-wracking, disordered conditions of modern urban living, 87 mothers out of every 100 can provide some milk for their babies. Putting the infant to the breast actually starts lactation. Of this 87 percent, two-thirds to three-quarters can give their babies all the nourishment they require. In the other cases some supplement may be necessary, preferably a wet nurse, or human milk in bottles. To nurse her baby properly, the mother should of course continue to have the adequate diet that is indicated during pregnancy. She should also have fresh air, sunshine, a reasonable amount of exercise and the right mental attitude.

Food and long life

MANKIND, which dreads the thought of old age, failing powers and death, is always interested in the possibility of a lengthened life and a correspondingly lengthened period of maximum vigor. Some dramatic results have been achieved in experiments with laboratory animals by Dr. H. C. Sherman of Columbia University, dean of American experts in nutritional science. Dr. Sherman has worked on large numbers of laboratory rats who were fed a highly stabilized diet consisting of: five-sixths ground-up whole wheat; one-sixth dried

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whole milk plus some table salt and distilled water. The efficacy of this diet is shown in the fact that Dr. Sherman and his colleagues have brought to maturity 60 successive generations of rats which were fed nothing else.

In the experiment mentioned, groups of rats were given varying amounts of Vitamin A. One group received the amount equivalent to that considered adequate in the human diet, another received twice that amount and a third group, four times. The results, again translated into human terms, appear to show that receiving four times the customary quantity would increase the human life span by about ten years. This increase is reported for adults as well as the young, and means ten years of full vigor and vitality, not merely a decade added at the end of the life span. Dr. Sherman reports that baby rats born to parents which have received abnormally large amounts of Vitamin A grow rapidly, are subject to little illness, and seem unusually sturdy.

In view of the importance of Vitamins A and C, it is interesting to know that plant breeders have recently produced tomatoes and corn with very much higher quantities of these precious elements than have been known in the past. For instance, one small tomato—about the size of a crab apple—contains the entire daily Vitamin-A requirement for an adult human being.

Everyone has heard the stories about how during the war aviators were supposedly fed carrots, with their high Vitamin-A content, to overcome night blindness. A diet of a different sort increases the aviator's "altitude tolerance"—the height to which he can fly without serious disturbance of function—by one-half to three-quarters of a mile. For this purpose a diet rich in carbohydrates was found most effective. The aviators were fed fruit, cereals, jam and bread.

Curing pernicious anemia

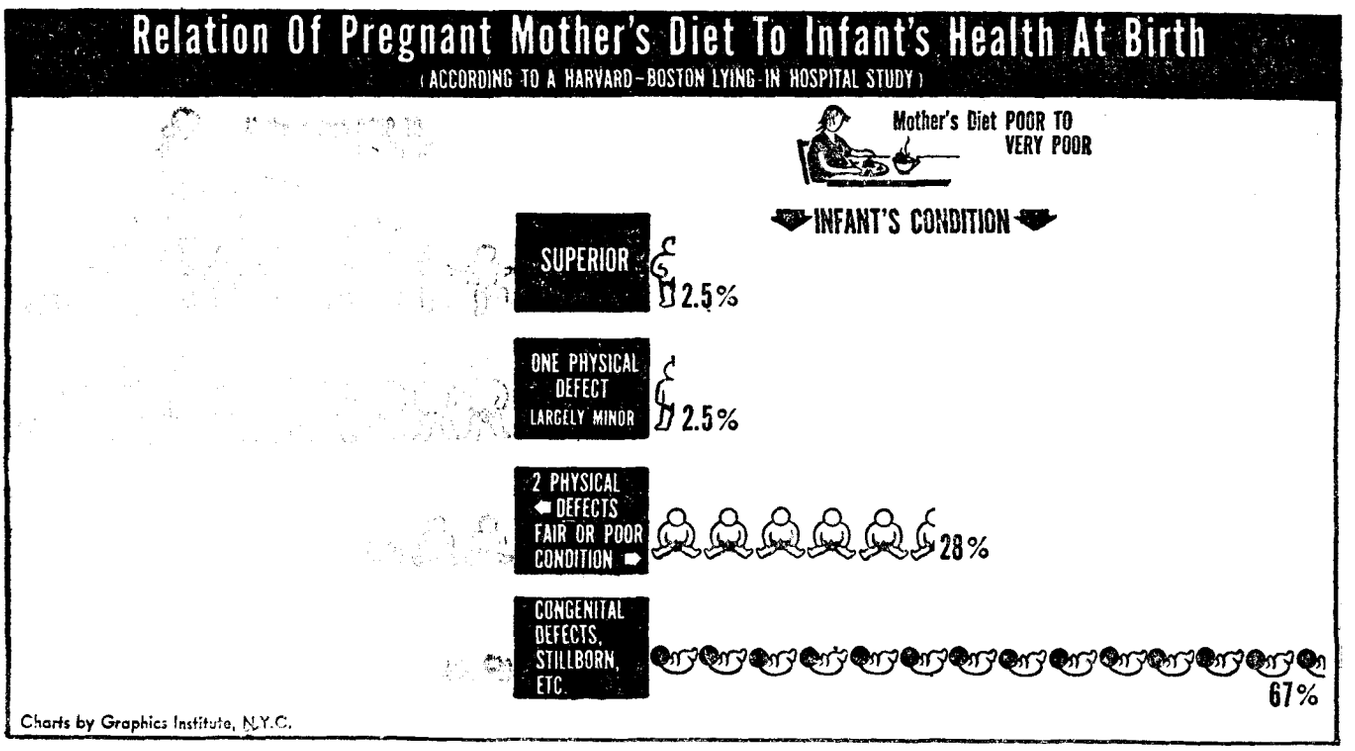
FOR a dramatic example of the power of nutrition, consider the case of pernicious anemia, in which the red blood cells dwindle away to only 10 percent of their normal number. Until the year 1926, if you developed pernicious anemia you were marked for death. Then it was discovered that animal liver carried a substance which checked the march of this disease. But the life of the victim was still a wretched one; even after a highly concentrated extract had been developed (it was physically impossible to eat enough liver for the necessary result), the victim, like the sufferer from diabetes, had to take hypodermic injections every few days and his life was severely circumscribed. Many patients developed an allergic response which made it difficult or impossible for them to take the life-preserving injections.

Within the past year we have learned that folic acid has amazing properties in connection with pernicious anemia. Moreover, we have learned to synthesize folic acid, bringing the price down to a modest level. Liver extract has not been wholly abandoned; the advanced technique is to give the two preparations together. They can be taken by mouth, and administered by the patient himself. Not every problem is ended for the sufferer from pernicious anemia—other symptoms still persist, and are certainly serious—but the shadow of death has now been removed.

Folic acid also works miracles for the sufferer from sprue. This is a disease widespread in the tropics and more common, even in the United States, than most people are aware. The victim develops such a sore mouth and tongue than he can hardly eat; he is debilitated by diarrhea and profound lassitude. Folic acid destroys sprue almost literally overnight.

Lessening tooth decay

AN ACHING tooth is funny to everyone except to the man who has one, or the dentist who knows how seri-



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ous tooth impairment can be. Actually, decayed teeth were the most common cause of rejection for the army in the late world war; 20 percent of the first two million called were refused for this reason.

As you have probably read, the addition of at least one part in a million of fluorine to water drunk by growing children greatly reduces the amount of tooth decay they experience (it seems to have little effect on the teeth of adults). "Hard" water also keeps down tooth decay to some extent. Although the matter is still under dispute among scientists, some research workers believe they have found a high correlation between an adequate diet and a small incidence of tooth decay. Such a diet contains plenty of milk, cream, butter, eggs, meat, vegetables, fruits and cod-liver oil. Vitamin D appears to protect the teeth of children, though not adults, possibly because in the children it maintains the storage and conversion of calcium and phosphorus.

The role of sunshine

IN the United States there is a definite correlation between the hours of sunshine per year and the lack of tooth decay. Roughly, 100 additional hours of sunshine mean four to five percent less decay. This is true, however, only of those leading a "civilized" life. There is wide testimony that the Eskimo, under primitive conditions, with a vigorous outdoor existence and consuming a practically all-meat diet, has a lower incidence of tooth decay than we who are more civilized and know less about the art of living.

Although the matter is still in dispute, many experts now believe that eating candy in moderate amounts does not cause tooth decay, if the candy is added to a completely adequate diet. The trouble comes when you eat candy instead of the things you should.

One of the remarkable recent achievements in the field of nutrition is the discovery that there is a food element which increases the power of the individual to act with intelligence, this being especially true in the case of subnormal children. This and other new developments will be discussed in a second article.

No Ninth Chance

by Ted Berkman

The United Nations hearings may be the final opportunity to settle Palestine's future without war

NO ARMORED cars rolled through the spacious walks of Flushing Meadow last week. Instead of barbed wire, tommy guns, land mines and an atmosphere of impending horror—hallmarks of life in the Holy Land today—there were plush lounges, carpeted halls, the modulated voices of diplomats. For the eighth time, Palestine has reached a major conference table.

This session is different. For one thing, it embraces nearly all the nations of the world, not just the handful most directly concerned. More important, it is the last chance for an orderly settlement of the question. There will be no ninth inquiry. Palestine cannot smolder and crackle forever; not with thousands of Jews rotting spiritually in the DP camps of Europe, and with the malady-ridden, largely illiterate Arab masses already whipped to a frenzy by their leaders' denunciation of "the Zionist invasion."

The "last-chance" implications of the meeting extend beyond Palestine. For

Ted Berkman, newspaperman and screen writer, returned recently from the Middle East, where he was correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company.

UN Eyes
On Palestine

BRITAIN'S CADOGAN

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the UN, too, this session is critical. Palestine is the first problem of truly international scope that the UN has tackled; deeply involved in it is the future of a people whose past persecution is widely felt to be a collective responsibility. Tremendous moral values, rather than purely legalistic considerations, are at stake; popular faith in the UN will be profoundly affected by the outcome.

The US and British positions

THE big question marks are the US and Russia. The so-called Truman Doctrine dominates the scene at Flushing Meadow. The US is openly committed to the business of "containing Russian expansion." In Greece and Turkey, this policy has taken the form of backing extreme right-wing governments. The feudal Arab governments are terrified at the thought of communism. For the past year, anti-Communist drives have been in progress in Egypt, Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon; and the police have not been particularly fussy about precise definitions of communism.

Will the US, which has felt it necessary to throw a barrier across the approaches to the Middle East, attach less importance to ensuring the fanatically anti-Communist character of the Middle East oil storehouse itself?

Conceivably it may. Although the State Department leans toward a pro-Arab solution, President Truman is pulling almost equal weight in the opposite direction. The President is aware that the heavy Jewish vote in New York State may be a pivotal factor in the 1948 elections. He is personally sympathetic to the Zionist cause, and feels that most of America agrees with him. This fundamental conflict between foreign-policy and internal considerations seems likely to cancel out a strong bias in either direction.

Great Britain's position at the Assembly is simpler. Primarily, Britain wants to keep her toehold in Palestine—Churchill's eloquent rumblings to the contrary notwithstanding. There are not many places where a Tommy can lay his head—and his rifle—in the Middle East today. British army commanders insist that, atomic age or no, soldiers must stand guard over the Suez Canal and Britain's oil reserves. Cairo has been cleared of British soldiers. Iran, Iraq, the Levant states, all bade their farewells to the Tommies last year. Palestine may be a nerve-wracking encampment, but it's all there is aside from Trans-Jordan. In going before the UN, Britain once more gains time. Furthermore, she is not obliged to carry out Assembly recommendations, but is in the happy position of being able to accept any proposal that suits her, or of holding out for the United Nations action needed to implement any unfavorable decision.

Unpleasant reminders

THE one awkwardness in Britain's situation before the UN is the fact that it provides a rostrum from which unpleasant charges may be hurled at the mandatory power. Britain will not welcome such reminders as the Labor Party plank of December, 1944, reaffirmed in April, 1945, which stated: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' [pledged in the Balfour Declaration] unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority."

Conversely, Soviet Russia wants a full spotlight turned on the British record

BRAZIL'S ARANHA, PRESIDENT OF ASSEMBLY

RUSSIA'S GROMYKO

Drawings by Ivan Opfer

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in Palestine, confident it will draw more brickbats than bouquets. Russian propaganda has long been hammering at British troops in colonial areas; Moscow will be equally pleased by Arab or Zionist confirmation of its charges. Apart from this, the Russians will probably follow a mildly pro-Arab line, in order to uphold their carefully fostered role as champion of the small and colonial peoples; Moscow has never let the Arab world forget Soviet intervention on behalf of the Levant states in the Security Council. Moscow has a long-range interest in penetrating the Arab world, whose underfed and restless peasant millions make tempting targets.

Talk of a close Arab-Soviet liaison at the Assembly is nonsense. Red is not a popular color in Middle East palaces this year. Nobody who has seen the contrasts of wealth and poverty in the Arab world can take seriously the whispered threats of an Arab League desertion to the revolutionary Russians. The Soviets themselves are under no illusions; they seem to have had no direct contact with the Arabs at Flushing Meadow. Besides, the Russians, although traditionally anti-Zionist, are not completely unresponsive to the attitudes of world Jewry.

Early maneuvering at the session reflected these basic approaches. The US and Britain concentrated on limiting the agenda to the appointment of an inquiry committee; Russia, along with Poland and Czechoslovakia, argued in favor of permitting the Arabs to dig into the substance of the question, but took no position as to the validity of Arab views.

600,000 without a voice

THE session opened with the protagonist in the drama somewhere offstage. The Jews had no voice in the proceedings—no spokesman for the 600,000 colonists who comprise one-third of Palestine's population, or for the soul-weary DP's behind wire in Europe and Cyprus, or for the Jews from all parts of the world who had poured money and labor into the promise of a "National Homeland." When the Steering Committee met to discuss the agenda, all five of the Arab states had places around the horseshoe table—four of them by invitation. Day after day the Arabs castigated Zionism, while observers for the Jewish Agency, semi-official body designated in the mandate to cooperate with Britain, sat helpless in the audience or wandered the labyrinthine corridors.

Absence of the Jews evoked some curious reactions. At the Steering Committee session on Wednesday, Asaf Ali, the wiry, catlike little delegate from India, asserted: "We are playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Where is Palestine? Where are the Jews? Are we going to decide the fate of Palestine and the question of the Jews without ever listening to them, without hearing them?" Ali referred repeatedly to "my friends, the Jews"; but during the intermissions it was the Arabs with whom he exchanged confidences. India has officially announced a pro-Arab stand.

The Poles were less ambiguous. Their delegate insisted that deliberations should not start till the Steering Committee had decided the question of Jewish representation. Ecuador took a similar line. The Latin American states in general appeared sympathetic to the Zionist viewpoint, in spite of what some termed "undue pressure" from the US to modify their views. Arab contact men who approached the Latin Americans early in the week made no great inroads, except with Argentina, which was

HERSHEL V. JOHNSON, U. S. DELEGATE

SWEDEN'S ERIKSSON

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reported hesitant about expressing her pro-Arab leanings because the Peron government is already under fire as anti-Semitic.

Arab strategists

THE Arab delegates, in asking the Assembly to place the question of independence for Palestine on the agenda, argued that the crisis in the Holy Land could not wait; that unauthorized Jewish immigration was threatening gradually to inundate the Moslem majority; and that the whole concept of the mandate violates the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, who were not consulted about it. The Arabs had an ingeniously balanced array of representatives: Faris el-Khouri of Syria, pink-cheeked septuagenarian legal expert; Hassan Pasha, the Egyptian Ambassador, a suave, dapper man in a sports jacket who seemed fresh from a round of golf in Westchester; Lebanese Ambassador Dr. Charles Malik, a specialist in logic who taught philosophy at Harvard; Amir Faisal al Saud of Saudi Arabia, an arresting figure in flowing desert robes; and chunky, grinning Dr. Fadhil Jamali of Iraq, the arm-waver and table-pounder of the group.

Grand strategist of the Arabs, however, is lanky Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, secretary-general of the Arab League, who is not a delegate but who plays the main role in cloakroom conferences. Azzam began a long career of Arab nationalist activity in 1912, when he volunteered against the Italians in Libya. I asked him whether he thought the Jews should be heard at the Assembly session.

"Yes," he replied. "For two reasons. First, in the interests of justice. Second, because I am confident we have a better case than they have, and our position will be stronger after they testify."

I recalled to Azzam that, in an interview given me last summer in Cairo, he had proposed a Palestine formula under which a small Jewish state would emerge as part of the Arab federation. Had he changed his mind?

"Not at all. An independent Palestinian state should be created, in which the Jewish community will be given every possible guarantee. No laws affecting the Jews will be passed without their approval. The Jews will retain their identity as a community; and if one day they want to form a separate group in the Arab world, they will be able to do so. They will have a place in the Arab League."

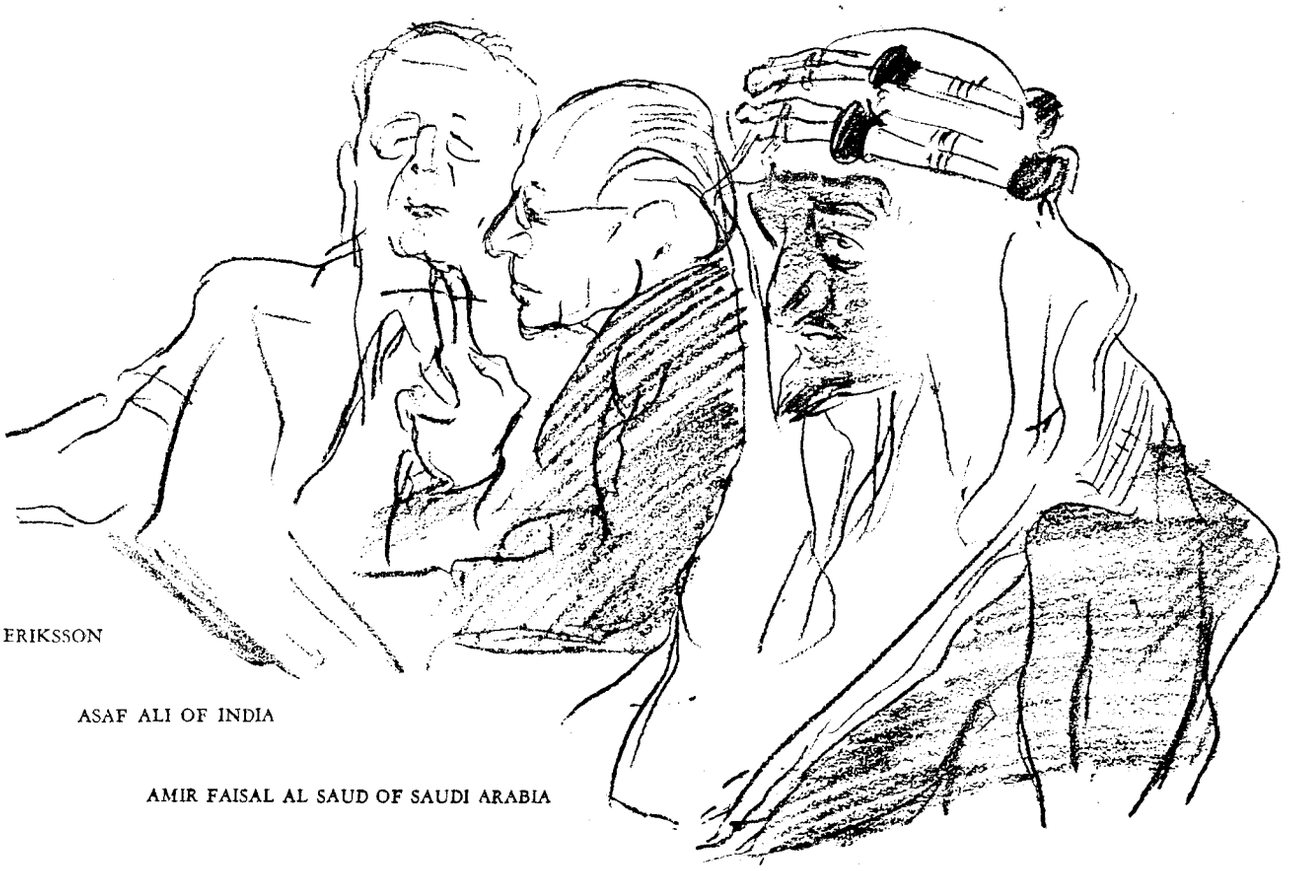
Did he feel that the Jews were entitled to a national homeland?

"Yes," Azzam replied. "But their choice has been most unfortunate. It is at the crossroads of continents, and the heart of the Arab world. No decision can be imposed by force in this matter. The temper of the people will not permit it. The approach must be gradual."

The Jewish spokesmen

PITTED against the Arab representatives, sooner or later, will be an imposing battery of spokesmen for the Jewish Agency. Master planner for the group is Moshe Shertok, chief of the Agency's Political Department and equivalent to its foreign secretary. Brisk-mannered, bushy-haired Shertok speaks spontaneously and brilliantly in eight languages. He directed the very considerable contribution of Palestine Jews in the Second World War.

Shertok is a Palestinian. The key American figure in the Jewish Agency is Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, a massive-shouldered, imposing man of impressive oratorical talents. A close



ERIKSSON

ASAF ALI OF INDIA

AMIR FAISAL AL SAUD OF SAUDI ARABIA

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associate of Dr. Silver is Dr. Emanuel Newman, a mild-mannered scholar who exerts great influence on broad policy. Rounding out the panel is Dr. Nahum Goldman, political negotiator, a personable man who thinks fast on his feet.

To Arab demands for an independent Palestine, Shertok says: "Palestine as an independent state would to all purposes be an Arab state. The Jews would be left a minority at the mercy of the Arab majority. That is not what the Jews came to Palestine for, nor is it what they were promised." Shertok declared that an Arab minority under Jewish rule could always be sure of fair treatment, since the Jews out of self-interest would want to maintain good relations with the neighboring Arab states.

Answering Arab attacks on the fairness of the mandate, Shertok said that the Arabs were given full control of a vast area, with the proviso that Palestine be set aside for Jewish colonization. "Today, with seven independent Arab states, the future of the Arab race is amply secure. But if Palestine, too, becomes an Arab state, the one hope of the Jews to have an independent state in their own country will disappear forever. The question before the United Nations is: Which injustice will be the greater; not to add Palestine to the long list of Arab states, or to doom the hope of the Jews ever to become an independent nation?"

THE UN'S TRYGVE LIE

The Outlook Is Dim

by Franklin P. Huddle

Overworked power systems, poor planning, profit-taking and a peak demand may darken your lights before the year's end

WHEREVER you live in the United States, with a few exceptions, there is an almost 50-50 chance that by the end of 1947 your lights may fade out. For a few days, possibly a week, you may find out that the phrase "power shortage" means that the flick of your finger on the electric switch no longer lights your bulbs, toasts your bread or activates your radio. Elsewhere, power may be rationed for necessary purposes —with brown-outs, darkened store windows and intermittent, unscheduled black-outs. Unless demands for power relax their remarkable upward surge, the people of this country are likely to experience the same power failures, inconveniences and discomforts that hit the British people last winter. But while British power failures stemmed from an out-of-date electric system, war-weary generators and a season of foul weather, American power failures will be the result of shortsightedness and profit-taking.

Right now power in America is tighter than at any time during World War II. And it's going to get tighter still. Home electric appliances are selling faster than one-dollar ball-point pens. War-affluent farmers are wiring their milksheds and forming REA coöps. Industry long ago surpassed wartime levels and is still expanding. New homes for veterans, new commercial constructions will create additional demand for at least a million kilowatts of electricity.

Today in Los Angeles and Arkansas big aluminum plants are closed for want of power. In some Western communities, irrigation pumps have shut down. In Washington, D. C., the War Assets Administration's plant-disposal program is being partially blocked because purchasers can't be assured of power to operate the facilities. In New York State, during a big February snowstorm, one utility curtailed service to industrial consumers by 50 percent, another by 100 percent, to assure an adequate supply of electricity to residential users.

The single generating unit at Burlington, New Jersey, has been withdrawn for long-deferred maintenance, and every utility in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey interconnected grid has had to reduce its voltage by three percent. Residential consumers in a Southern town who turned on electric heaters during a sudden frost thereby overloaded the transformers and caused them to burn out.

New industrial consumers have to beg for power and some don't get it. For at least two years, possibly for five, the power situation will continue to be what the trade euphemistically terms "tight."

Statistically, the power shortage arrived last year. In December, 1946, out of 23 Eastern power-supply areas of the

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Federal Power Commission, including every utility east of the Mississippi, only five, including the area served by the Tennessee Valley Authority, had a net assured capacity in excess of the month's peak demand.

In New York State the highest 1946 peak exactly equaled capacity. In the other 17 areas power companies leaned heavily on each other. If their peaks had happened to coincide, the feared power shortage would have happened. The companies were lucky to get through the year. Some of them owe a big debt of gratitude to John L. Lewis for making coal scarce and thereby compelling power-conservation measures in big cities.

The men whose kilowatt-hours light the nation's lamps deny that there is a power shortage. According to the view of the power companies, there isn't a shortage until the lights actually go off. Yet kilowatts are now being squeezed until the electrons run out. Engineers are nursing old equipment, cooling overworked transformers with firehoses, pushing steam-generating plants above rated capacities, dimming voltages below 110, juggling meager reserves from system to system, all to keep the lights burning.

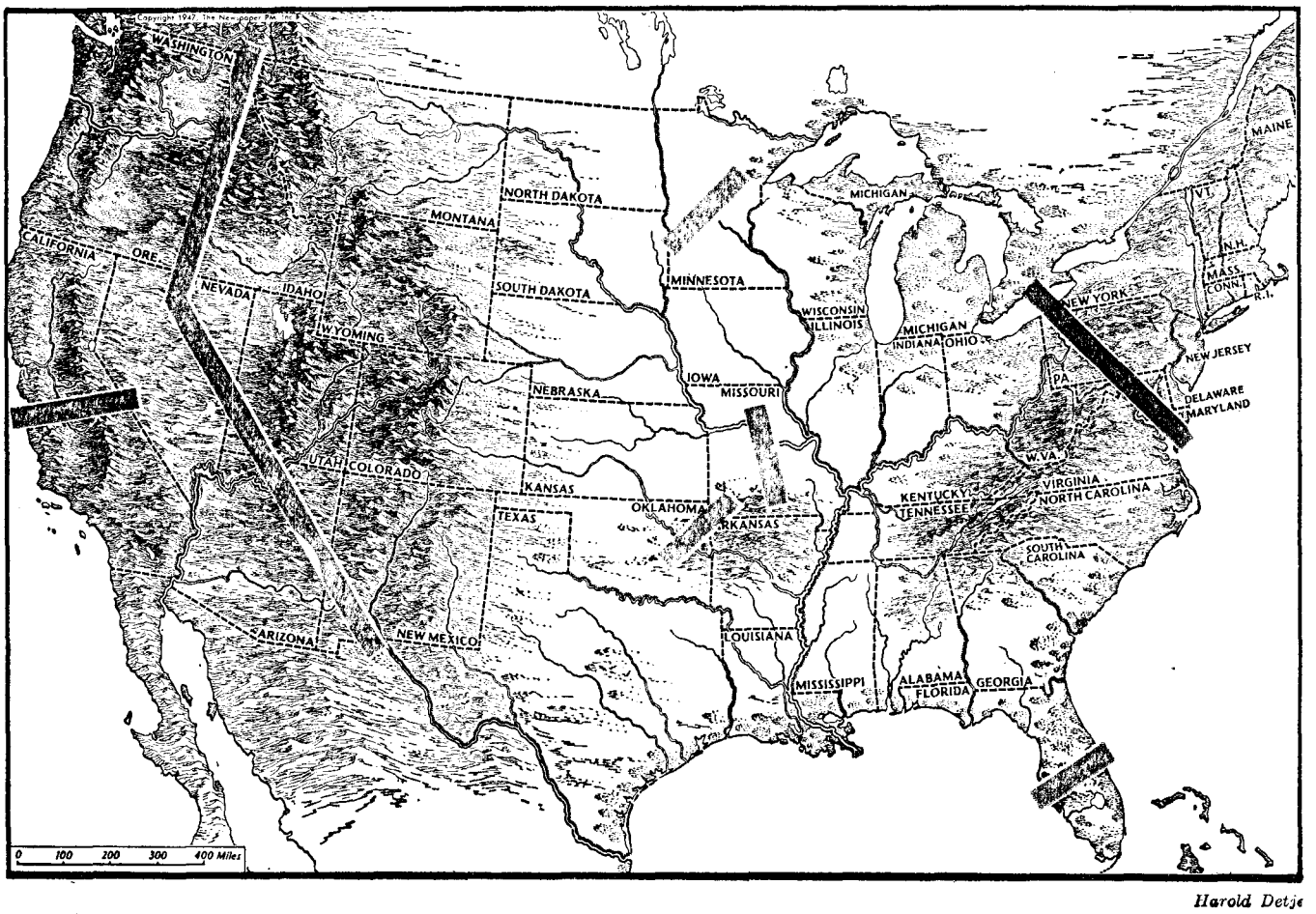
Voice in the wilderness

BACK in 1941, Leland Olds, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, vainly urged utilities to expand generating capacities by 3.5 million kilowatts a year for five years to meet war demands. Much of this expansion would have preceded the wartime industrial peaks.

He urged them to interconnect their systems to eke out more power from their reserve units. (In an isolated system necessary reserves ought to equal the largest single operating unit; for a power pool a reserve of 10 percent is considered safe.) He wanted a grid built to link power systems throughout the entire Northeast, as far west as Milwaukee and St. Louis, as far south as Baltimore and Washington.

But overcapacity is dead weight to a power company, as useless as a blown fuse. It costs money to maintain and it yields no revenue. President C. W. Kellogg of the Edison Electric Institute retorted, with figures to prove it, that Olds had overstated his case. So the grid was not built and only about 10 million kilowatts of capacity were added to the nation's electric systems to meet war needs—most of it belatedly and in competition with the production of guns and tanks.

Miracles of ingenuity were accomplished by the utilities to get through the war with insufficient generating equipment. Wartime power economies were accomplished by using reserve units, by power pools developed under



Harold Detje

POWER BARRIERS THAT DIVIDE AMERICA

Across the bars shown here, there exist no adequate power lines to link America's isolated power and lighting areas into an efficient, well coördinated grid

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encouragement by the War Production Board, by help from dim-outs and brown-outs, by three-shift production and "War Time." Most of these devices reduced power peaks and strengthened off-hour demand. As a result, the companies made handsome profits and emerged from the war in sound financial positions.

During wartime the utilities were fortunate in that rainfall was unusually plentiful. One crisis came early in the war, down in the Tennessee Valley, when drought seriously lowered the water levels in the reservoirs of the TVA. The day was saved with borrowed power, thanks to a power pool engineered by "Cap" Krug, then power manager for the authority.

As the war stretched out, a serious "draw-down" developed in Lake Mead, whose power served Los Angeles aircraft, shipbuilding and aluminum industries. But on the whole, except for a few isolated "black-outs" from generator failures, Kellogg's stand was vindicated and there was no power shortage, according to the utility definition.

Eleven-month breather

WHEN the Japanese surrendered, utilities executives heaved a sigh of relief. The pressure was off for the first time in three years. Their economists forecast a fairly protracted postwar adjustment, followed by gradual return to war peaks. They would have ample time, they thought, to bring maintenance programs up to date and to add new generating equipment as it was needed. In the meantime they would cut out their least efficient facilities and make attractive profits during the breather.

Their breather lasted exactly 11 months, from August, 1945, to July, 1946. Power sales in the autumn of 1945 and the winter-spring of 1946, although well above prewar levels, were below any year since 1942. Home consumption, which had climbed during the war, continued to remain lower than its potential because of the lack of electric appliances. And many reconverting factories were not yet in full operation.

Utility profits rose from $517 million in 1944 to $636 million in 1946.

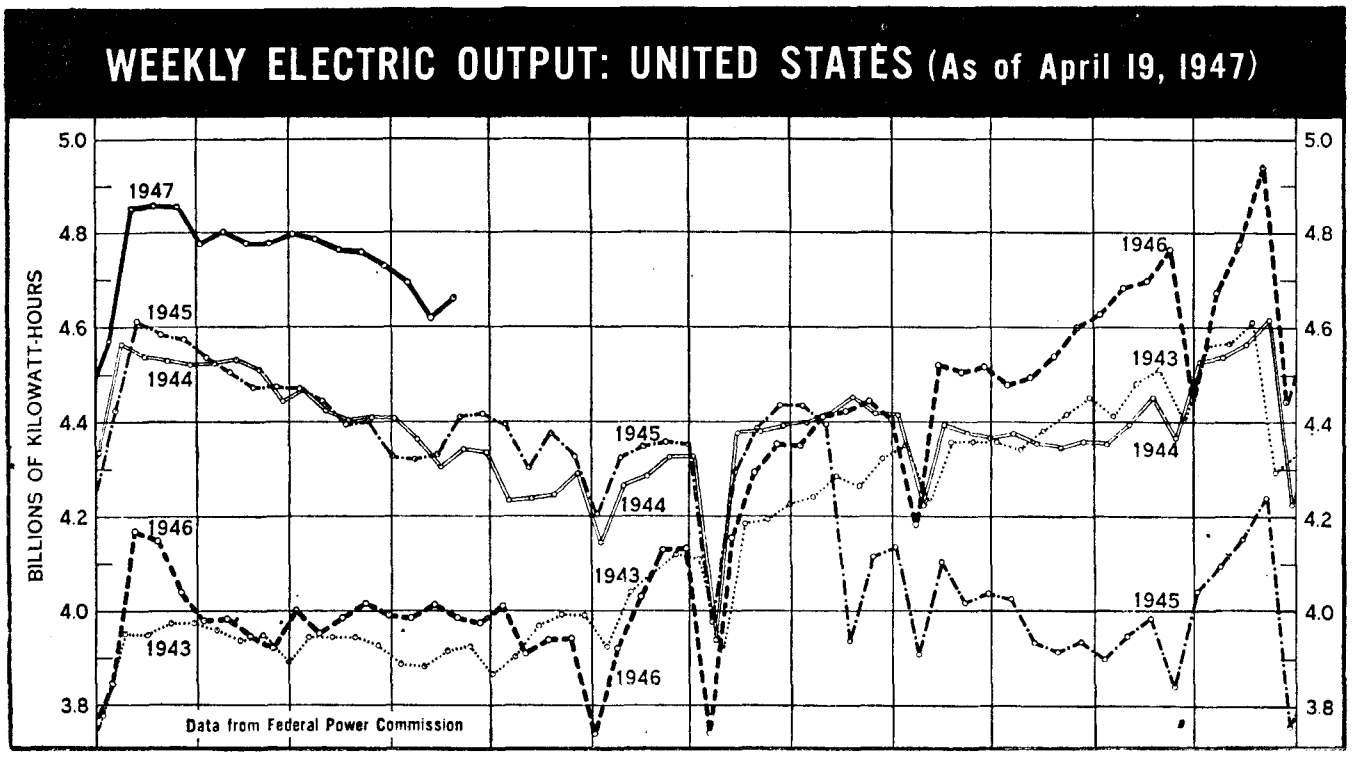
Last July 4 marked the turning point. Since then, the rate of demand for power has soared to the highest point in history. During a single week of the pre-Christmas rush it climbed to nearly five billion kilowatt-hours. This was one-fifth the amount of power used in the entire wartime year of 1917!

Electricity can be stored only in the form of water behind a dam or coal in the pile (aside from storage batteries, which are unimportant in the broad picture). It must be used as generated. Generator capacity must be equal to the largest foreseeable demand or the lights go out at the peak load.

The missing link

SYSTEMS are linked to some extent in power pools. Within limits, a company or group can borrow power from adjacent companies to meet emergency demands or peaks, if the neighbor has power to spare. A power grid may be used to tie together a dozen systems with high-voltage transmission lines, so that whole areas of the country can be served, in effect, by a single, highly efficient system. With such a grid, power peaks and power dips cancel each other and enable most efficient use of generator capacity.

But in practice, neighboring utility systems are far from completely linked. For example, the big Los Angeles system is tied to the San Francisco area only by a low-voltage line that would be of inconsequential aid should a shortage develop in either place. Throughout much of the West this same isolation exists. In the East, the Potomac



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is an "iron curtain" separating unlinked power areas as far as Erie, Pennsylvania, on the Great Lakes.

Members of Congress are overly impressed by utility objections to parallel transmission lines, unaware of the truth that a 287,000-volt line may parallel one of 50,000 volts and one of 10,000 volts without the slightest duplication of services. (A fair analogy is city traffic in which sidewalks, street-car lines and underground rapid transit supplement and support one another but do not materially compete.) A big grid is costly but it brings economies of power and expands potential markets. While private utilities are themselves reluctant to shoulder the cost of such an expansion until the market justifies it, they don't want the federal government to do the job before they get around to it. Thanks to their efforts, a cold reception has met proposals by the Bureau of Reclamation for new transmission lines and grid schemes for the West.

Limping along

IN SPITE of their resistance to government hydro-power projects, the utilities are pressed for sources of power. And if power demand continues to rise at the same rate as during the past eight months, a power shortage is almost inevitably in store. Many wartime devices to smooth out power peaks are no longer available. Farm protests are ending daylight-saving time in many states. Wartime willingness of consumers to ignore inconveniences is at an end. Private industry is no longer willing to maintain three-shift production and over-time hours, now that Uncle Sam has stopped paying the freight.

Postwar expansion plans of the utility companies have been cautious. Planners vastly underestimated 1946 power peaks. They blueprinted a capacity expansion for 1946 of a mere 1.5 million kilowatts, part of which was replacement rather than net addition. But only one-fourth of this modest figure (361,172 kilowatts) was completed in 1946, which means that "tired" generators are still being run, in imminent danger of breakdown. Construction of 3,027,922 kilowatts of new capacity is now planned for 1947, and double that amount thereafter.

Unfortunately, "on order" isn't the same as built. Steel is needed to build steam turbines and generators and electric plants. Competition among makers of automobiles, refrigerators and beer cans has raised the price of scarce steel. Only two-thirds of the nation's copper needs can be met by domestic production this year. Utilities, whose rates and debt charges are relatively inelastic, hesitate to weigh themselves down with high-cost equipment if they can manage to defer construction until steel, copper and aluminum are more plentiful.

The relatively large construction programs of the utilities for 1947, under adverse cost factors, are, in themselves, good measure of how seriously the power men themselves regard the situation. But large as they are, the plans seem likely to fall short of demand for power. New home construction alone will absorb one-third of the proposed 1947 addition to power output. And it must be remembered that utility construction in 1946 missed its goal by 75 percent while housing construction did considerably better.

A planned reconversion under priorities and price control might have saved the power industry from its present and prospective difficulties. Reconversion subsidies might have supplied an alternative solution. But the time to do either has passed. A big construction program by the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers would shorten the period of crisis by years. But Congress is cool toward "unnecessary" spending.

A depression can help

AS THINGS stand at present, the only avenue of escape for the utility companies is a substantial depression, starting in mid-1947. That would fix everything. Closed factories and curtailed industrial expansion would mean reduced demand for power. Residential consumers would stop buying new appliances and begin watching their light bills. The bottom would fall out of farm prices and the tempo of rural electrification would drop. For the utilities, such a depression would eliminate the need for costly, makeshift maintenance, large 24-hour repair crews and high-cost capital expansion. Under these circumstances—unless they went too far—the utility companies for a time would make a larger net profit than is in prospect for them today.

That situation gives reason for serious reflection. One may well ask whether it is healthy for so influential, so articulate and widespread a force in our economy, to have even a temporary vested interest in depresssion.

Planning—or else

ALTHOUGH a complete solution to the coming power crisis is lacking, a number of measures could help. Pressure could be exerted on supplier industries to allocate a fair share of construction materials to the power companies. Congress could reverse its action in cutting the Bureau of Reclamation's power projects and could make additional appropriations for projects in selected hardship areas. A few vital transmission lines could be built. Municipalities planning new street lighting could defer construction for the present. Fluorescent lighting could be stressed in new housing units. The power industry could be consulted when new building permits are granted at the local level. State power commissions could stiffen their regulatory measures and require additional protective capacity expansion on the part of the utilities.

All these measures would help a little. Some are already in use. But the crisis is too broad for makeshift palliatives. Some communities will have to take their bitter medicine.

The long-range solution is one which apparently the private owners of the utility companies are unwilling to adopt. That is to expand capacity well in advance of demand and to hold rates low to encourage wider use of power once the capacity is available. Wherever that public-spirited technique has been tried, it has worked. No valid reasons prevent its application by private companies, but their overconservative leadership has consistently rejected this thesis.

As a result of utility caution, consumers may very likely sit in darkened homes in many communities, this next Christmas, waiting for the lights to go on again. And if they happen to own utility stock, they can console themselves that their properties have been most prudently administered.

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Books in Review

No Defense

BACK in the good old days of 1938. the prodigious J. B. S. Haldane published in the British science magazine *Nature* an article containing a mathematical evaluation of the chances of being killed or injured in an air raid. Although it was a calm and fairly reassuring analysis, neither the British government nor the British people found it a comfort. A few days after the outbreak of the war, there was a rumor, never, however, confirmed, that a huge hole, a mass grave capable of holding 50,000 corpses, had been dug in Hyde Park, in anticipation of air-raid casualties. Within a short time, however, the ditch was refilled upon the realization that its dimensions were excessive and that, in any case, its effect on the morale of Londoners passing it on the way to work would be more shattering than the largest load of bombs the Luftwaffe could conceivably release.

Since then circumstances have changed. Dr. Haldane would now find it necessary to revise radically his probability integral. Formulas for the "mean area of effectiveness" (MAE) of an aerial bomb—"the measure of the expected total area of destruction which may be computed for a particular type of damage against a particular object"—and for the "standard killed rate" (SKR) ensuing upon "a given bombing attack against a given population density sheltered in given structures" also require recomputation. London, with a population of 8.7 million, suffered over a period of six years 14,000 tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs resulting in 30,000 deaths and 50,000 casualties. Hiroshima, with a population of 245,000, was hit by a single bomb whose active ingredient, according to Professor M. L. Oliphant, weighed *less than one-twentieth of one ton;* the number killed, according to the US Strategic Bombing Survey, lay between 70,000 and 80,000; the injured, about 70,000. In Nagasaki, one bomb killed 40,000 and injured the same number. A few atomic bombs well placed over London might yield as many as two million casualties. In the event, therefore, of war in our time, the Hyde Park "grave" would be grossly undersized.

It should also be remembered (1) that "the atomic bomb certainly could be made bigger" (testimony of General Thomas F. Farrell, deputy to General Leslie R. Groves, before the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy); (2) that for any country that knows how to make them, at least 1,000 bombs could be accumulated in two years (Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer before the same committee); (3) that the two bombs dropped over Japan were only about three-percent effective, so that a single bomb, instead of being the equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT, as revealed by President Truman, might be made to release energy equivalent to 600,000 tons of TNT; (4) that the explosive ingredients of an atomic bomb make such a tidy package that it "can be kept under the counter of a candy store" (Dr. E. U. Condon, "The New Technique of Private War" in *One World or None).*

IS there any way of reducing vulnerability to atomic bombs? That is the question considered by Ansley J. Coale in *The Problem of Reducing Vulnerability to Atomic Bombs* (Princeton, $2), a study prepared under the direction of the Committee on Social and Economic Aspects of Atomic Energy of the Social Science Research Council, with Dr. Winfield W. Riefler of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton as its eminent chairman. The appearance of Coale's book ironically completes something of a circle. Even before the war began, attention was focused on the problem of reducing air-raid casualties and damage. In England, for example, in addition to individual studies by Dr. Haldane and others, the Ministry of Home Security initiated research on how to save lives, minimize physical destruction, assure the maintenance of military and civilian production and the continuation of essential services despite bombing attacks. This project developed throughout the war and later was supported by American participation under the direction of Dr. Riefler, then US Minister in charge of Economic Warfare.

AS THE attacks on Great Britain abated and the combined British-American bomber squadrons began to pound Germany, it was found that the very same data which had been carefully accumulated and studied after each raid on Britain would serve as a basis for assessing the damage Allied aircraft were inflicting on Germany. It was a neat turnabout and particularly gratifying to the British, who could discover in the ashes of their homes and factories invaluable information about what they were doing to Hamburg and how to do it better.

The idea was quite simple. Photographs of the targets were taken during and after every raid on Germany. These were brought back and compared with aerial photographs, especially taken by the British, of the damage caused in Britain by German raids. Once you knew that such and such ground damage looked thus and so on a photograph taken from the air, you could reverse the process and judge from the air-raid photographs what the ground damage was likely to be in Germany.

Furthermore, since the British knew how long it took to repair a damaged factory, they could judge approximately how long it would take the Germans to get it back into working order. This was an important guide for bombing schedules, since there was no point in wasting bombs on installations that

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were still out of business. The air forces waited until they were nicely repaired and then went back for a repeat performance.

COALE'S book brings us back again to the first phase of the air-war studies. Given Hiroshima, Nagasaki and tests "Able" and "Baker" at Bikini, what would we or should we do in New York, Washington, Oklahoma City or San Francisco to keep casualties and damage down in the event of atomic-bomb attacks?

The answer is neither cheerful nor impressive. Roughly speaking, there isn't much you can do. This is the one conclusion that emerges clearly from Coale's analysis, which seems to be more concerned with the problem of "winning" a future war in which atomic bombs are used than of surviving it. The two are not necessarily equivalent. There is, to be sure, a lengthy catalogue of mitigants and palliatives, but they add up to the fact that the best way to survive a rain of atomic bombs is to be elsewhere.

It is suggested, for example, that to "avoid loss of war" there must be large-scale dispersal, decentralization of industries and relocation of cities. Einstein has estimated that in a global atomic war two-thirds of all mankind might be wiped out. Coale states that in 200 American cities with populations of more than 50,000, an average of three atomic bombs accurately delivered on each—by no means beyond the feasible—would result in a total of 14 to 17 million deaths and 14 million wounded. All this might happen within a single day—in a few hours perhaps.

To talk of continuing a war after such a holocaust is of course nonsense. The entire organism of our society would be in the condition of Hiroshima—a fleeing, milling, trampling mass of refugees either half insensible with shock or crazed with fear. No bugle call would bring them back and no cool advance plans to meet disaster would bear any relation to the needs of the event. When a theatre is in flames and a third of the audience has already been charred, a reading of the fire regulations will not have an attentive hearing.

Dispersal and relocation, to be effective, says Coale, would cost about $250 billion. This is not a sum Congress is likely to appropriate, even assuming tens of millions of people would consent to be moved. It is worth pointing out that the total value of every man-made improvement in the US—bridge, road, house, factory, dam, dock, railline—is worth about an estimated $400 billion.

IF, says Coale, we arrive at an international agreement for the control of atomic energy, when war breaks out we shall have, assuming controls are effective, six to nine months of partial respite during which we and our adversary will be furiously building up a sufficient stock of atomic bombs in order to make the first strike as devastating as possible. On the other hand, if no international agreement is reached, a large part of our effort during peace would have to be devoted to producing military equipment. The effect of such planning and action inevitably would mean an alteration in the form of our government, a substantial enlargement of the military at the expense of civilian authority, an encroachment on civil liberties and freedoms which are the core of our democratic system.

Coale seems to realize this, but without undue alarm. In the space of less than a page that he devotes to "political implications" he says rather quaintly: "The danger is that autocracy might become too easily establishable. . . . Thus there might be a tempting opportunity for the appearance of a leader. It is a fact that strong (although preferably benevolent) leadership would be a prerequisite for the achievement of the drastic steps needed for safety."

Coale's book makes quite clear what the scientists have been saying publicly since Hiroshima: there is no defense against atomic bombs and neither the state nor the human animal has much chance of surviving an atomic war in which they are involved. All this emerges despite a literary style which, except for Dr. Riefler's excellent introduction, is drab indeed, including a sad penchant for circumlocution and for elaborating the obvious. In its style the book reminds me not a little of the appalling documents put out by the Combined Joint Chiefs of Staff representing their contribution to the military arts.

WHILE much of the content is of first importance, there is evidence of haste and improvisation inexcusable in so serious a study. There is, for example, not a single reference to the Atomic Energy Commission in an essay which purports at least to list the agencies of government responsible for planning the future of atomic weapons in

Robert Osborn

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offense or defense. I regret, also that there is no index. JAMES R. NEWMAN

James R. Newman, a senior editor of the New Republic, *was counsel to the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy.*

None So Brave

LE CORBUSIER'S *When the Cathedrals Were White* (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3) is a collection of personal opinions on many subjects: the Middle Ages, New York cocktail parties, New York skyscrapers, elevators, the future of all cities. The inspiration that gave Le Corbusier's earlier writing its impact on the changing world of architecture has run a little thin; there is much vehemence but little fire in this volume. Coming from a sensitive man, some of the observations of the New York scene are acute and pertinent, but they add little to the art of city planning or to the cause of architecture.

Walter Dorwin Teague's *Land of Plenty* (Harcourt, Brace, $3) is one of those fascinating books that makes everything simple. It seems that the scientific potentials of what, many years ago, was referred to as the Brave New World are such that all we need to do is let industry take its course untrammeled. Teague assembles all the things the advertising men have dreamed about for years and shows how, if we will only let producers produce them, we will find salvation for all our ills. He ranges from plastics and the atom to solution of the labor problem, housing and city planning, by way of the evils of collectivism, demolishing as he goes, Laski, Mumford, laissez-faire, Marx and the economic defeatists nurtured by the New Deal. Far from being a defense of laissez-faire (for which he fears in one place it may be mistaken), it is a defense of the shiny world of the slick magazines. That is too bad, for there is a vast deal of really interesting and remarkable technological information presented.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL

Henry S. Churchill is an architect and the author of The City Is the People, *published by Reynal and Hitchcock. He is vice chairman of the Committee on Urban Planning of the American Institute of Architects.*

The Known City

ONE WRITER has said, "Chicago is the known city; perhaps more is known about it, how it is run, how it kills, how it loves, steals, helps, gives, cheats and crushes than any other city in the world." There is more knowledge about—scientific knowledge—and insight into Chicago than any other city in the world. This is to say that in no other place have social scientists studied a locality more intensively, and in no other city has there been such an outpouring of literary endeavor to explain an urban community. Science and literature have helped each other to understand America's most raw and brutal metropolis.

Years ago at the University of Chicago, under the direction of such pioneers in the social sciences as Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, the economic organization, the social stratification and the dynamics of population movement were charted in a manner which has never been equaled. Such monumental social documents as Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto* and Zorbaugh's *The Gold Coast and the Slum* have laid bare the bones of social organization and described in infinite detail the social processes through which a city comes into being, grows, matures and, perhaps, decays. This is the type of data from which many Chicago writers have drawn an infinite amount of material and to which they have brought their rich and fruitful insight.

Chicago has a great literary tradition. From this Midwest metropolis have come men who have written directly and realistically—Sandburg, Anderson, Masters, Dreiser, Farrell, Meyer Levin, Nelson Algren, Jack Conroy and Richard Wright. Now in this same school (though this term is used with full knowledge that it is much abused), Willard Motley has written of Chicago's great teeming West Side—of an Italian youth who lives a crushed, frightened, brutalized life (*Knock on Any Door,* Appleton, $3). One cannot refrain from comparing Motley's work with others of the Chicago school—Farrell's blundering but powerful description of the half-life of the Irish immigrants of two decades ago; Levin's depiction of the Jews' stumbling steps toward integration into the main stream of the culture of the city; Algren's sensitive and delicate analysis of the Poles, or in his more recent work, *The Neon Wilderness,* of the city jungles of the Near North Side. In no other American city has there been such a cross-fertilization of science and literature.

Knock on Any Door is the story of Nick Romano, an Italian youth bred and corrupted on the West Side of Chicago. The author describes in detail the deterioration of Nick's Italian family and of him as a personality. The book is a social documentation of Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller.* Nick's gradual development is traced from the time when he was an altar boy in the Catholic Church through his adolescence, when he gradually became involved in crime and homosexuality. Finally, in a hate which was originally directed toward his father but was transferred to the authoritative symbol of the police, he ends his sordid career by becoming a cop-killer and is electrocuted at the age of twenty-one. The disillusionment and frustration of the once idealistic altar boy is perhaps best summed up in a statement which he made to his father, "I did not ask to be born." His philosophy of life, which he repeats time and again, is "Live fast, die young and have a good-looking corpse."

ONE cannot help being struck by the similarity of the problems of the youths who have moved through Chicago's economic and social structures. Nick is no different in character formation from the Polish protagonist of Algren's work, or the Bigger Thomas of Wright's *Native Son,* who felt free for the first time in his life when he had killed a white girl who had tried to befriend him, or Studs Lonigan of the Farrell trilogy who died of dry rot and pneumonia. Death was the final and inevitable culmination of these disorganized personalities. That Chicago has grown in spite of these devastating effects on personality is a tribute to its human material, not to its social organization.

Motley, in creating this monumental work, employs a technique not unlike that of Theodore Dreiser. Immediately one compares it with *An American*

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Tragedy. But there is a greater artistry here, more sensitivity to the trials of the human personality and more richness of detail and description. A supercraftsman, Motley has for years engaged in detailed research and the observation of the life around him. The wealth of material and the writer's great compassion for the human spirit are unequaled in anything that has been produced on the Chicago scene.

The book will be disturbing to most readers. Some may be repelled by the sordid lives it portrays, but none can come away from it without a feeling of sympathy for the Italian youth turned gangster. Showing more insight than those who glorify or damn gangsters, Motley has exposed, in the subtlest way, the essential passivity of the killer. He has shown that the real motivation is fear. He has demonstrated that it is not by accident that there is such a high rate of homosexuality among these frightened personalities. The protagonist of Motley's book, the Chicago gangsters of the twenties, and the Hitler legions of the thirties have characteristics in common—the compulsion to rush into danger in an attempt to conquer anxiety arising out of their fear of their own passivity. If the book says anything, it says: "Frighten people and you either make abject creatures or killers of them." And it doesn't matter whether it's a Jew, a Negro, a Pole, an Italian, or a plain white Gentile American. Motley has, indeed, stated the psychological problem arising out of the economic and social conflicts which face America and the world. HORACE R. CAYTON

Horace R. Cayton, co-author, with St. Clair Drake, of Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, *is director of the Parkway Community House in Chicago.*

France from the Shadows

IN HIS articles on France for the *New Yorker,* A. J. Liebling has shown himself to be informed, detailed, discursive, shrewd, sentimental and sophisticated, all of which qualities contribute to the success of *The Republic of Silence* (Harcourt, Brace, $4). In this book, a report on the French Resistance movement, he reworks his old ground, but this time as editor and commentator for a selection of stories, articles, editorials, communiqués and excerpts from books written in France after May, 1940, and before the end of summer, 1944—roughly the period of the German occupation. This material is arranged chronologically, but under sections and headings which indicate the pattern Liebling sees in the chronology. He binds the sections by commentaries which place the text and focus the reader's response.

The book is not a history; Liebling is at pains to point that out. It is a compilation of the source materials of history which tells a consecutive story and provides evidence for the analysis of the Resistance as a concept of the French temperament, the spontaneous reaction of a democratic people passionately jealous of their liberty. It began casually. A number of isolated individuals, still dazed and shamed by their defeat, but badgered and degraded by the Germans occupying their country, kick back a little, to soothe their anger and pride, taking any means to hand, a brick or a club, and aiming at the weak spots that exist in any defense. In this way they realized it *could* be done, and gradually these individual exploits coalesced in various organized groups. At the end of the occupation there were two main forces which joined in the liberation of Paris, the familiar FFI and the FTP, an urban organization with tactics of its own, which drew its members mostly from trade unions and Communists.

But the movement that grew from individual exploits remained a war of personal ingenuity. "In all circumstances they were alone." (Indeed, isolated aggression sometimes misfired and sabotaged the Resistance itself.) It was the war of personalities. "The man in France who fights today does so without being obliged to. He does so with all the merit and all the grandeur of the soldier . . . which official wars are apt to make us forget exist." Precisely. There were more heroes in the Resistance than any "official" army could afford; in fact, the virtues of many of these heroes would have landed them in the guardhouse.

Sartre says, in a passage included in this book, "We were never more free than during the German occupation." The French are the traditional defenders of liberty, and by an ironic twist, their national enslavement was the occasion for a liberty-jag unparalleled in modern history. It was the freedom of an experiment in anarchy, a model disruption of all modern life, in which the "little man," the individual, obeying no law but his own personal concept of justice and liberty, often disregarding even the instinct to preserve self, on his home ground, in his work, his amusements and under the disguise of his regular habits, sabotaged the "works." Organized society, as represented by the occupation forces, was a farce. "Exile, captivity and death became for us the object of our habitual concern." Recognizing the "reality of torture in modern life," the individual set himself against the law which justified torture and was supported by it. He was outside that society, hunted and free. "No one except those who lived through it can imagine the exaltation that reigned in the civilian underground resistance in France."

AMONG the writers represented in Liebling's book, Vercors is best known as the author of the short novel, *The Silence of the Sea.* It is the story of a German officer, billeted in a French house, who tries to crack the reserve of his unwilling host and convey to him his good will and romantic attachment for French culture. Liebling doesn't reprint this book, but he gives an account of it, and expresses the opinion that Vercors has changed since then. The change isn't evident in the volume, *Three Short Novels* (Little, Brown, $2), recently published in translation here. In this book Vercors is still the Resistance writer of stories of the occupation, and of people to whom the horrors they experience and witness seem betrayals of their own humanity.

They are sincere tales through which the intensity of the author's personal emotion comes straight at the reader. "With those who do not understand I can but sympathize." It is the attitude of the dedicated partisan and assures Vercors his effect. "Not that art is needed for my purposes. Heaven de-

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liver me from it." His prayer has been answered, but one is curious what he will do with his writing when he has worked off the propaganda spirit of the Resistance. "In the love of France there is the Christian faith in his Redeemer." But on that conviction alone, without "art," dispossessed of his cause, a man might find himself writing travel brochures.

LOUIS ARAGON is represented in *The Republic of Silence* by the best story in the book. He has received notice in this country as the poet of the French Resistance, in a selected translation of his work. *Aurélien* (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $6), is his new novel, which covers about twenty years, includes a great number of characters and plots and, as a charming and old-fashioned touch to the naturalistic novel of manners, is published in two volumes.

The novel begins in the early twenties. Aurélien Leurtillois, discharged from the army, has drifted back to Paris and his old life of independent means among the *haute bourgeoisie* and moneyed Bohemia. He feels guilty about the past and the future. Although he repeats to himself, "But *we* won the war," he cannot escape the feeling "that he had been beaten." And he cannot, emotionally, accept the demobilization. In this state, at thirty, after a past of casual affairs, he meets Bérénice, the country cousin of a friend, and he is maneuvered by her family into a love affair. For Bérénice, it is to be a part of the holiday in Paris. For the relatives, and a circle of conspiring friends, it will serve purposes which have as their ends, as well as their means, the reshuffling of the available sexual combinations. The affair gets out of hand, to the discomfort and even disaster of those who hoped to advance by it. Aurélien sums it up: "We ruined our lives."

But this love story is only a central theme in the larger scale of the novel, and as such it is a nerve that gets lost in the fat. The great world is presented in a panoramic sweep by a series of social scenes: luncheons, dinners, visits, exhibitions, operas, balls. It is lively, witty, pictorial, even brilliant at times, with descriptions of family businesses, marriages, fortunes, houses and frequent divertissements on "feminine zoölogy." An enormous amount and variety of food and drink is swallowed all over Paris and in the fashionable suburbs. "Real people" (Cocteau, Diaghilev, Monet, Picasso, etc.) circulate in the crowd and all but turn their heads in the direction of the reader to speak. To anyone with a taste for such detail it will have a fascination in itself, for the first volume at least, but it palls like a day dream. It is piled up without any discrimination or apparent purpose. The author is ironic, but never essentially critical. In fact, there is little evidence that he is not really infatuated with what he is pretending to criticize only as an excuse to write about it.

Aurélien is not strong enough to hold all this together. He is not even capable of sustaining the interest he claims for himself. It might be his fault "of not finishing anything, whether it was a thought or an adventure," but this may equally prevent some readers from finishing his story in spite of its many charms and skills.

JOHN FARRELLY

A Reader's List

War or Peace with Russia, by Earl Browder (A. A. Wyn, $2.50), expresses his familiar views about the Soviet Union and its relations with the outside world. As everyone knows, Browder admires Russia; and in this book he makes it clear that he feels peaceful relations with that country are perfectly possible, and sounds as though they were probable. He believes the United States has departed from Roosevelt policy, and ought to return to it. Like all writers of books on topical subjects, he suffers from inability to keep up with the headlines; the first sentence of his preface says that "this book was written in the months when American-Soviet relations were at their lowest ebb, the summer and early fall of 1946. It is going to press in January, 1947, when the world is more relaxed. . . ."

Treason's Peace, by Howard Watson Ambruster, (Beechhurst, $3.75). The crimes of the German chemical trust and its cartel associates have been recorded and published in numerous books, documents and newspaper accounts of congressional hearings. Ambruster has been on its trail for years, beginning when there were many fewer to listen than during the war. Apparently he had great difficulty in achieving publication for his book on the subject, but at last it has appeared. Ambruster allows no aspect of I. G. Farben's activities to go without hostile scrutiny, even recounting at some length his campaign to prevent the press from publishing misleading advertisements of pharmaceutical preparations sold by Farben affiliates. The title reflects his belief that the occupation authorities have allowed this octopus to remain without substantial modification, thus threatening a revival of German aggression.

Black Anger, by Wulf Sachs (Little, Brown, $3). Dr. Sachs, a psychiatrist living in Johannesburg, began to psychoanalyze John Chavafambira, a South African Negro, to study the "primitive" mind. Their relation developed into friendship and Sachs's book is a biography of John and an account of that friendship. The story is composed of several related themes: the situation of the Negro, alienated from his origins and forced to adjust to the most brutal aspects of Western civilization; the problems of a sensitive man, unhappy in his personal life and surrounded by suffering and injustice; the technical insights of psychology and cultural anthropology. There is much information about native African life, and also motifs with which we in America are familiar—the desperate fear the poor have of public hospitals, their terror of the police, the Negro's helplessness before white bureaucracy. The book is almost tragedy, for after ten years in the cities John tried to go back to the *kraal* and found he no longer belonged there. But on his return to Johannesburg he made the best adjustment of the oppressed: he began to fight back.

NOTE.—*The March of Freedom: A Layman's History of the United States,* by William Harlan Hale, an editor of the *New Republic,* has just been published by Harpers. The June choice of the History Book Club, it is a reëvaluation of American history in popular terms.

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United Nations News

Home to the Meadow

LAST Monday, for the first time since December, the Long Island Railroad stopped trains at Flushing Meadow, or the United Nations, as it is now called. The visitors, newspapermen and Secretariat employees who stepped off didn't look much different from those who had taken the trip last winter, but the landscape had changed considerably. There was a warm spring sun and the red and white sky-view bus that whisked them up to the New York City building was a welcome change from the drab gray one formerly used.

Inside, the special Assembly to consider Palestine was getting under way. Alexander Cadogan, representative of the United Kingdom, posed indefatigably with delegates from the Arab states; and Prince Wan Waithayaka of Siam smiled nervously, as befits the UN's newest member. Instead of the usual five delegates per nation, only one (and an alternate) was present. Each delegate found on his desk at the opening session an identical telegram, sent by a pro-Arab resident of New York. Partisan and to the point, the telegrams were nevertheless considered a fruitless bit of propagandizing. Upstairs the press gallery was only partly filled. Visitors, apparently frightened away by the announced shortage of tickets, hadn't appeared in the expected numbers. About 100 were admitted and that was everyone who showed up.

The first important action was the election of a president. The name of each country was called, in alphabetical order, and the delegate came forward to cast his ballot. The Chilean representative was so eager that he knocked over the sign on the Belgian delegate's desk. Without hesitating, he went on to cast his ballot, and carefully replaced the sign on the way back to his own seat. As had been expected, Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil was elected. Of the five dissenting votes cast, one each went to the Swedish, Canadian, Saudi Arabian, USSR and Chilean delegate.

The opening session ran so smoothly that it finished ahead of schedule. It not only elected a president and formally welcomed Siam as a member, but it constituted its General, or Steering, Committee, composed of the president, seven vice-presidents (the Big Five plus India and Ecuador) and the six committee chairmen (Egypt, Honduras, Canada, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Poland). It was this committee which, on the second day, began haggling over the highly controversial agenda.

THE first item proposed for that agenda was the *raison d'être* of the special Assembly—a British request for an investigating committee which would make recommendations on Palestine to the regular Assembly next fall. President Aranha was anxious to avoid discussion on this point, but Asaf Ali of India, supported by Egypt and Russia, wanted to know whether or not the UK would ignore any UN recommendations that it found unpalatable. Cadogan, distinguishing between "carrying out" a policy and "accepting or rejecting" a United Nations decision, implied that Great Britain is willing to accept anything the UN decides as long as she alone is not responsible for executing it.

THE real fight in the General Committee, however, was bound to center upon the Arab states' request that the mandate be terminated and Palestine be declared independent. The US and Britain, with the aid of Aranha, managed to convince a majority of the delegates that this was no time to open a full debate on Palestine, that the Arab proposal should be kept off the agenda. Even so the Arabs and some of their supporters managed to make a few points. In fact, through the debates and maneuvers of the General Committee, several more or less important points were clarified.

First, it became clear that this special Assembly will solve only one concrete problem—it will set up a Palestine investigating committee, decide who its members should be, what it should do and when it should report. There will be no full-fledged debate on the substance of the Palestine question as such, but the Assembly, fortified by Jewish and Arab testimony, will undoubtedly approach the crucial issue.

THE second point is the significance of the minority, or abstaining, vote on the Arab proposals for the agenda. Russia's Gromyko and India's Asaf Ali (who, incidentally, is one of the Assembly's most colorful and logical speakers) had verbally supported the Arab demand, but abstained on the final vote. Judging from their spokesmen's earlier speeches, both countries are hoping to steer a delicate middle-of-the-road course which, practically speaking, may aid the Arab cause without jeopardizing either Russian or Indian political prestige.

The third point is that the Palestine problem continues to be a three-way fight among British, Arabs and Jews, a fight in which the Jews alone have no vote in the United Nations. The US has come around to supporting their desire for a voice, but Jewish spokesmen are wary. They know the United States is firmly committed to the support of Britain in the Near East—if not 100 percent, at least more than half the way.

JANE BEDELL

SAUDI ARABIAN DELEGATE

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Labor

Congress Kids Itself

BY THE time this reaches print, the Senate presumably will have passed its omnibus labor bill with amendments attached on the floor which virtually everyone agrees will produce a White House veto. It has been freely predicted —by myself, among others—that the Senate will sustain this veto and that the ultimate result may be no labor legislation whatsoever this year. But the substance of the measure and the manner in which it was advanced deserve study as an example of what is wrong with congressional and public thinking about labor unions.

One can minimize, as human, if regrettable, the political overtones of the labor debate. Senator Taft (R, Ohio), who last December wanted merely "moderate" labor reforms and prolonged study of more drastic proposals, changed his mind and decided that a catchall measure would put President Truman "on a spot." Democrats adopted an air of great righteousness as they attacked this suggestion, but both sides were playing politics. That is inevitable in as partisan an arena as the American Senate in the year preceding a presidential election.

The more crude and ugly fact is that the Senate has so little understanding of modern industrial-relations problems, so little understanding of the connection between labor unions and democracy, that few members were prepared to attack the basic philosophy of the labor bill. Most of them thought it ridiculous for Philip Murray to describe anti-labor legislation as the "first real step" toward American fascism. They were deaf to appeals that they examine the causes of industrial strife last year before trying to halt such strife by legislation.

Consider, as a single example, the "emergency" sections of the Senate bill as it came out of committee. These sections would allow the enjoining of a strike for 60 days, and then a further delay of 20 days, if a walkout should imperil national "health or safety." What is this but the reënactment of a compulsory cooling-off period? What is it but a return to an attempt to settle labor disputes by injunction—a technique repudiated by the American conscience since the Debs injunction in the Pullman strike of 1894? Nearly everybody recognizes that an industrial nation cannot tolerate "paralysis" strikes. But how to get rid of "paralysis" strikes in such industries as coal and railroading is a different matter.

WHEN the government broke the coal strike last year by injunction, the mines were at least technically in government possession. A contract governing wages, working conditions and a welfare fund had been signed by Interior Secretary Krug and John L. Lewis. The Senate bill would not provide for government seizure of properties, for government negotiation with the workers or for government assurances that superior wages and working conditions would be granted in recognition of the special circumstances of the employees in "vital" industries. It would simply allow a strike to be enjoined, while requiring nothing of the mine operators or railroad managers. Unless the Supreme Court reverses historic rulings, this part of the Senate bill is unconstitutional as a violation of the involuntary-servitude amendment.

Senator Irving M. Ives (R, N. Y.), an able legislator and an exceptionally well informed man on labor relations, thinks that the injunctive processes of the labor bill would seldom be used. He thinks that fact-finding boards, making their reports on the issues of a dispute before injunctions were permitted, would allow "public opinion" to force a settlement prior to any need for an injunction.

It is legitimate, however, to doubt the validity of this viewpoint. Presidential fact-finding boards were repeatedly flouted by great corporations during the 1946 strikes. The insufficient education of public opinion about labor relations was clearly indicated when a substantial majority in the Gallup Poll last week expressed sympathy with striking telephone workers, but an even larger majority felt the strikers should go back to work pending further negotiations. The harsh fact was that American Telephone and Telegraph was seeking to bust the National Federation of Telephone Workers and that "further negotiations" under these circumstances were impossible if the union was to survive.

Congress will not escape the imperatives of our social system by passing laws providing a compulsory cool-off and injunctive "relief" as a solution for "national-paralysis" strikes. If Congress enacts such measures, it will be kidding itself and the public. In so far as the workers are actually forced to labor unwillingly for the private profit of private employers, the day will be brought closer when another Congress must consider national ownership of admittedly vital national industries.

ANALYSIS of this type has been notably scarce this year in both Houses. When Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.) said that no labor law omitting consideration of wage issues could have halted the reconversion strikes of 1946, nobody even bothered to answer him. It is fortunate, indeed, that nobody tried, because Pepper's statement was irrefutable. Most major strikes last year and this involved disputes over wages, and we shall not escape another depression by crippling the bargaining power and economic strength of unions in such disputes.

Many "abuses" of labor unions can correctly be cured by legislation. But it is regrettable for Congress to pass bills which go beyond the cure of "abuses," such as the jurisdictional strike and outright thuggery or racketeering, in order to punish unions for their economic struggles of 1946. It is especially regrettable for Congress to pass such bills while at the same time ignoring the "abuses" of corporations in skillfully evading the anti-trust laws. In relation to Murray's charge that anti-labor legislation is the "first real step" toward fascism, it is worth while to remember that Mussolini and Hitler got their start by promising "order" and "discipline" in place of the social struggles of modern industrialism. WILLARD SHELTON

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Music

Swing Nostalgia

EVERY now and then I get a postcard from a citizen named Bob Maltz, announcing a forthcoming Saturday-afternoon concert of the New York Jazz Club, 100 East Seventeenth Street. Maltz is a pleasant young man who spends considerable time and money organizing the sessions, mailing postcards, and giving the glad hand at the entrance. In addition, he presides over the gatherings, to the delight of the cash customers, all of whom appear to be his friends, and who exercise their prerogative of telling him to get off the stage and let the musicians play. The musicians, by the way, are among the best of the small-jazz-band men in town.

During the past ten years, jazz clubs, hot clubs and record societies have sprung up all over the country, partly because jazz lovers in a given community are a definite minority, and often like to regard themselves as a persecuted minority at that. Take the Boston Hot Club, to which I once belonged. Its guiding genius was a lanky, amiable character named Grover Sales. His mission in life was the propagation of the faith, and he used to wander all over Harvard College (with which he was in no way connected), carrying a batch of Bessie Smith records under the arm of a moth-eaten raccoon coat and preaching the gospel to anyone with a phonograph. I don't know how Cambridge is today, but when I was there the place was full of jazz people, and it wasn't long before Sales hit upon the idea of gathering these people under a common roof with a common name. So he formed the Boston Hot Club and made himself president of it.

Although he never achieved his goal of having stationery printed to read "Boston Hot Club, Grover Sales, President," he did rent a big, loftlike room in Boston, and worked hard to make the place look presentable, digging up some old chairs and a 1905 gramophone. In addition, he talked several dozen comparatively reluctant Harvard undergraduates and alumni into joining. He sold me the idea of becoming a member of the Executive Board, which I considered an honor at the time—although it occurs to me now that the club's entire membership was on this board.

Our clubhouse was on Massachusetts Avenue near Symphony Hall. It was located directly above the offices of the Socialist Labor Party, and it's difficult to say whether the Boston police took a dimmer view of the representatives of the Fourth International or of the sign on the second floor window which announced in large red letters, "BOSTON HOT CLUB." For a while we fooled them, conducting ourselves in an exemplary manner. We met once a week, and sat down while a member stood by the phonograph playing his favorite records and giving brief lectures on the Chicago style, the New Orleans style, and the like. The academic approach was too much for most of us, and soon we would adjourn to a nearby bar, where we would discuss the Red Sox over shots of what someone told us was absinthe.

One night the cops got their chance. We had managed to assemble several members of the Count Basie band—including the Count himself—as guests. The guests brought their own instruments and we brought the liquor. Soon a fine jam session was in the making.

We would probably have been able to talk the police out of making us stop, had it not been for a member named George Frazier. George at the time was writing blood-and-thunder jazz criticism for *Down Beat*, *Mademoiselle* and any other magazine whose editors didn't object to the use of the word "stink" in their columns. Today he writes record reviews for *Variety* in a more conservative manner, but his conservatism was not noticeable on that night, when he made several remarks which were interpreted by the Boston police as a reflection upon their occupation. They acted quickly. One of them hung a beautiful right cross on George's chin and, after a brief scuffle, they took him to jail, where he languished for the night.

KID ORY'S Creole Jazz Band, probably the most authentic of the present-day New Orleans groups, has just made an exceptionally interesting album for Columbia. Other bands are still playing this style, but, in my opinion, not half so convincingly as the Ory gang, which includes Kid Ory (trombone), Mutt Carey (trumpet), Barney Bigard (clarinet), Buster Wilson (piano), Bud Scott (guitar), "Montudi" Garland (bass) and "Ram" Hall (drums).

As is frequently the case with an old-time jazz band, the solo choruses (with the exception of Barney Bigard's liquid, thoughtful clarinet work) don't display too much imagination. In the ensembles, however, the men get together and produce an aggressive, almost vicious drive that's more stimulating than anything you'll find in jazz today. Credit for the album goes largely to Columbia's jazz expert, George Avakian, who has written some very readable material on the band for the book's inside cover.

CHARLES MILLER

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Press

Scoop!

ON THE Friday on which Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson became, for at least seven hours and three minutes, the most influential person in the world because of something he didn't say, the House Foreign Affairs Committee was holding public hearings on the $400 million loan to Greece and Turkey in the ornate, high-ceilinged caucus room of the old House Office Building.

Acheson, a tall, tweedy man whose diplomatic duties include acting as the State Department's liaison with Congress, sat at the desk provided for witnesses. From three sides, committee members peered down at him from a U-shaped mahogany bench on a raised platform that angled around the front of the room. Behind him, reporters at their press tables scribbled notes on the backs of envelopes and passed them to each other, and whispered. Behind the reporters, the rest of the room was lined off with rows of chairs for the public. Most of the 500 chairs were filled. A committee member, glancing at the voters present, asked Acheson if the State Department was making any special effort to explain the issues in the Greek-Turkish crisis to the American people.

Acheson nodded toward the newsreel and television lights that blinded him, to the cameramen who were creeping up on hands and knees to photograph him, and to the committee members who had been grilling him. "The ordeal I am now being subjected to is part of that effort," he said.

A mile away, at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, President Truman had just returned to Washington from a Florida vacation. Two hundred miles away, in New York, the national commander of the Catholic War Veterans had advocated, the day before, that "all Communists, even citizens, be deported." In Moscow, General Marshall, after defining democracy for the Russian representatives at the Moscow Conference, had been asked by *Pravda* whether certain people weren't denied life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness because they belonged "not to the white but to the colored population of a country."

A FEW feet from Acheson two heavy-set young men in their middle twenties—George Reedy of the United Press and Milt Dean Hill of the Associated Press—sat together at the special table reserved for the major press associations and tried to hear what was being said through the discord in the room. Both were acting as second-string reporters that day. Reedy, a scholarly-looking man who wears heavy, shell-rimmed glasses, was sitting in for the UP's varsity veteran, Sandor Klein. Hill, a round-faced former all-Big Six guard from Kansas State, was backing up AP's Alex Singleton. Klein and Singleton had gone to the improvised press room 50 feet down the corridor to teletype previous developments to the UP and AP newsrooms.

Republican Walter Judd, a sophomore Representative from Minnesota who had once been a medical missionary in China, took up the questioning. "I understand our major reason for proposing and adopting this legislation is our belief that it would be dangerous to the security of the United States to have Communist-dominated governments developing in Greece and Turkey," he said to Acheson. "Is that correct?"

"That is correct," Acheson said.

"Well, would it or would it not be dangerous to the security of the United States to have a Communist-dominated government on the Pacific in China?"

"I think we should not look with favor upon that."

Klein and Singleton shouldered their way back into the large room, and Reedy and Hill started off to the press room together to report what they had heard. Ten minutes later the United Press teletyped a bulletin to its subscribing papers quoting Acheson as having said that it was "dangerous to the security of the United States to have Communist-dominated governments anywhere." The Associated Press put a similar misquotation on its wires and "the Acheson butch," as it has come to be known in journalistic circles, was born.

In city rooms from Savannah to San Diego, copy boys heard the five rings that signal a wire-service bulletin and tore yellow paper with the Acheson statement on it from newspaper teletype machines. In New York, the liberal *Post* headlined its lead story with "ACHESON SAYS: RED REGIMES PERIL TO U.S." Scripps-Howard's Indianapolis *Times* carried "RED RULE ANYWHERE PERILS U.S." Evening papers in New York, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Pueblo, Dallas, Little Rock, Indianapolis and Minneapolis treated the statement Acheson never made as front-page news. Most agreed on the way it should be treated. Eleven papers used the word "Red" or the phrase "Red-dominated" in their headlines. Eight used "peril," "periling" or "imperil." Four used "regime." Adding a Punch-and-Judy touch, Hearst's New York *Journal-American* ran "ACHESON SEES RED PUPPETS PERILING U.S."

MEANWHILE, Acheson finished testifying at 12:45 and was driven to the rococo State Department building with no knowledge that he was about to figure in compromising headlines throughout the world. He ate lunch and resumed his work in his own office. Early in the afternoon, news of the butch seeped back to Washington. The United Press queried Klein, who said, "Stick with Reedy—he's never made a mistake yet." The Associated Press queried Hill, who said he had the incriminating statement in his notes. Frank Kelley of the New York *Herald Tribune* could find no such statement in *his* notes, and went straight to the horse's mouth and phoned Acheson. Acheson acted astonished and said he was positive he had been misquoted, but refused to issue an official denial until he had checked the transcript of the hearings.

Spicing the incident with an international complication, Reuter's Paul Scott Rankine decided not to change his story. Despite Rankine's care, that afternoon's London *Daily Mail* led off

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its Washington dispatch with, "The existence of Communist-dominated governments anywhere is 'dangerous to the security of the United States,' said Mr. Dean Acheson, Undersecretary of State, today." A later edition of the *Mail* that carried a denial of the story incidentally promoted Acheson to his proper title of "Acting Secretary of State."

At the height of the turmoil, the Washington *Star* appeared with Acheson's misquotation headlined on its front page. The *Star* complicated the situation by carrying the story under the byline of J. A. O'Leary, a reliable *Star* staff writer who had attended the hearings. O'Leary had never filed the false quotation. The *Star* city desk simply tacked the exciting AP lead onto O'Leary's story and let it go at that.

Acheson and his State Department press section finally got their hands on the official transcript. Five hours, give or take a few minutes either way, after the false report was filed, the State Department announced that Acheson "did NOT—repeat NOT, N-O-T—say as was reported," and furnished reporters copies of the actual Judd-Acheson exchange. The Associated Press corrected its story immediately. The United Press refused to give up without a fight. It admitted that the transcript didn't disclose the quotation attributed to Acheson, but insisted that "The UP reporter and others present understood him to make that statement." It wasn't until seven hours and three minutes after its original bulletin that the UP issued a complete correction.

Reedy and Hill explained the butch in terms of misunderstanding. Both insisted they had heard Acheson make the incriminating statement and had written down his words, and both showed their notebooks to prove it. Although the official transcript, a recording of the hearing and the memories of 30 other reporters present all contradicted Reedy and Hill, they stuck to their story. They were also stuck with it. Sympathetic correspondents at the crowded National Press Club bar tended to blame overexcitement and the never-let-the-other-fellow-get-ahead competition of the wire services. Either Reedy or Hill, they reasoned, might have misunderstood Acheson in the turmoil of covering a big story. Since they were sitting together and had left the caucus room together, they could have compared notes. The other's notes might well have confirmed either man's uncertainty as to what he had heard.

DEAN ACHESON

This rather liberal interpretation was bolstered by the records of the two men. Reedy was a trusted member of Klein's House staff and had a reputation as a UP wonder boy. Hill, a regular member of the AP's Latin American staff who had been loaned to Singleton for the hearings, had been advancing rapidly in AP circles. Neither man was fired.

One veteran newsman, trying to explain the butch and convinced that the difference between what Acheson said and what Reedy and Hill reported him to have said wasn't worth quibbling over, suggested that the two reporters were psychic. "Maybe Reedy and Hill heard Acheson's thoughts," he said.

As THE denials were fed out from Washington Friday evening, editors had a chance to prove they could correct an error with international overtones when they printed one. The St. Louis *Star-Times* and *Post-Dispatch* prominently displayed front-page retractions. So did the New York *World-Telegram*. The Dallas *Daily Times-Herald* had the correction on its front page all right, but as a two-inch item near the bottom of a column.

Although Hearst's International News Service had never carried the misquotation, a late edition of Hearst's Chicago *Herald-American* reported that Acheson's "exchanges with members were often long and involved and some reporters understood him to say at one point that Communist-dominated governments anywhere in the world would be dangerous to the security of the United States." The "carry" on the story was headed "REDS EVERYWHERE CALLED U.S. PERIL." The New York *Sun* used the same device, but, apparently a stickler for accuracy that day, said that the reporters "misunderstood" rather than "understood" Acheson.

Since the average newspaper reader doesn't run out to buy a late edition once he's gotten home and taken off his shoes, a retraction on the day *after* a butch is considerably more important than a correction on the day an error appears. The Baltimore *News-Post*, the Arkansas *Democrat*, the Louisville *Times*, the Minneapolis *Star*, the New York *Journal-American*, and the New York *Post* featured the false story in a Friday edition and carried no corrected story or retraction in the corresponding Saturday edition.

At least six morning papers refused to stay out of the fight. A half-day after both wire services had corrected their stories and all hands had apologized, Saturday morning editions of the New York *Daily Mirror*, the New York *Daily News* and the Nashville *Tennessean* reported in various fashions "what Acheson was quoted by reporters as saying." The London *Times*, although it fastidiously used "Communist" rather than "Red" in its headline, was still insisting on Saturday that Acheson "said that the existence of Communist-dominated governments any place in the world would be dangerous to the security of the United States."

In Moscow, the source of the danger, Sunday's *Izvestia* and *Red Star* carried two stories each on the butch. One, filed by Tass in New York, stated that the UP and the AP had misquoted Acheson and had admitted their error. The other, filed from London, stated that Acheson had denied the remark attributed to him. Both stories included the statement Acheson had never made. Neither *Izvestia* nor *Red Star* seemed shaken. RICHARD STROUSE

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Radio

"Of Chattering Folk"

THERE IS a new network zany on the air these days. His name is Robert Q. Lewis. I might as well start with him as with any other item on the week's agenda; since this has been as dizzy a week, for radio-reporting purposes, as any on the calendar. Consider the dramatis personae: "Hamburger Kate" and Dorothy Parker; Leland Stowe and F. H. LaGuardia; "The Eternal Light" and "Studio One." And Robert Q. (the middle initial stands only for the middle initial) Lewis.

As of this writing, Lewis is pinch-hitting for Arthur Godfrey on only one of Godfrey's numerous assignments. This man Godfrey, when he's not vacationing, as he is right now, does something like two and a half hours of radio work each week day, Monday through Friday over local CBS stations in New York and Washington and over the network. Just for a change of pace, he also has a half-hour a week on the network at night, with his "Talent Scouts" show. While he's resting, CBS has split his chores among a number of people, and Lewis got the 11 to 11:30 a.m. job, Monday to Friday. He chatters, hugs the microphone, tells amusing stories and laughs at them himself, makes fast switches from the urbane to the corny, introduces Archie Bleyer's music and Jeanette Davis and the Mariners and guest singers left over from the Godfrey shows. On the day he opened his "Godfrey" program, he took a poll of the studio audience: he asked one man and one woman whether they liked his show; they did; they turned out to be his parents. Another day he introduced his listeners to a vacation spot located in a mythical valley—a very funny take-off, even at that hour.

I don't expect you to knock off from your serious daytime duties to listen to Lewis between 11 and 11:30 a.m. But CBS is banking a lot on this network newcomer, having two new shows in the works for him to master-mind and emcee. One of them, "The Robert Q. Lewis Little Show," will go on soon, Saturdays, 7:30 to 7:45 p.m. Hear Lewis. If he doesn't fall flat on his face—and he shows promise of holding up—you'll be able to say you listened to the new and perhaps better Henry Morgan when few others have even heard *about him.*

STOWE

IF morning listening is within your time budget, don't waste any of it between 10 and 10:15 a.m. on "Katie's Daughter," a new soap opera sponsored over NBC by—yes, the Manhattan Soap Company. The cheapest triumph available to any radio editor is to be had by beating the much abused soap opera. That format has taken more lickings than anything on the air, with the possible exception of jingles peddling laxatives and vice-presidents who try to censor Fred Allen. Not all of the criticism is justified, but "Katie's Daughter" deserves whatever raps it gets. The heroine, beautiful and clever, lives on Park Avenue and in horror of having her millionaire boy-friend discover her mother's trade. Had enough?

LAGUARDIA

UNIMAGINATIVE huckstering of the type illustrated by "Katie's Daughter" serves to point up the unevenness of radio's artistic terrain. Take, for instance, "The Eternal Light," which is broadcast over many of the stations on the same network (NBC, Sundays, 12:30 p.m.). This show has been on the air for nearly three years. It is produced "under the auspices" of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which means that the seminary pays the cost of scripts, actors, etc., spending something like $65,000 a year on the program. But NBC's contribution is no small one: it includes free time, studio facilities, a full orchestra and—above all—production know-how under a top radio director named Frank Papp.

It seems incredible that the same vice-president who couldn't take 20 seconds of ribbing from Fred Allen, and who scheduled "Katie's Daughter," is responsible for putting "The Eternal Light" on the air and keeping it going at considerable cost. On my last listening, the show dramatized "The Price of Liberty," by Howard Fast, skillfully adapted for radio by Arnold Perl. It's a story (from the collection *Patrick Henry and the Frigate's Keel)* about Johnny Ordronaux, "a Jew from France but an American," who built a fast clipper in 1812 and outran and outfought the blockading British navy. Listen to "The Eternal Light" one of these spring Sundays; the show may convince you that radio occasionally talks like an adult.

ADULT also is the word for the new drama, "Studio One" (CBS, Tuesdays, 9:30 to 10:30 p.m.). The amazing Fletcher Markle, whom I told you about last week, came through with his opening show in excellent style. The story was Malcolm Lowry's *Under the Volcano,* adapted by Markle and Gerald Noxon, with Markle producing, Markle directing, Markle giving the whole thing his highly competent imprint. Instead of borrowing Hollywood glamor for his cast, Markle used professional radio actors who really know the microphone. Everett Sloane played the British Consul in Mexico whose taste runs to mescal and cynicism. Featured in the cast were Anne Burr, Hedley Rainnie, Joe DiSantis and Juano Hernandez. Markle plans to bring other trained, sensitive players to the air on this program.

FOR listeners interested in what the trade calls "gabbers"—*i.e.,* commentators—I have a brief report on the Mutual network's two leading liberals, Leland Stowe and F. H. LaGuardia. I have heard Stowe only once so far. Maybe he was pulling his punches because, being sponsored by a labor union (the United Electrical, Radio and Ma-

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chine Workers, CIO), he did not want to be accused of being as partisan on his side of the fence as is, say, Fulton Lewis Jr. on the other side. However, Stowe seemed cold, aloof and, I was sorry to note, a bit dull. He had nothing new, or newsworthy, to say; and what he did say lacked the freshness that a man like LaGuardia injects into his radio stint.

LaGuardia's voice sometimes falters, becomes squeaky or overemotional; but New York's former mayor is a distinct personality; and his manner of saying things, the intimacy of his tone, the obviously acted but nevertheless sincere projection of anger or approbation—all of these, applied to important current political issues viewed through liberal eyes, make LaGuardia outstanding on the air. Stowe and the UE still have a long way to go to reach that position, but they may get there faster if they dare more.

WHICH brings me to my peroration and Dorothy Parker. In the days of Hoover and prohibition, Mrs. Parker was the idol of the gin-guzzling "lost generation." Somehow, both she and the generation seem not to have been lost at all. Right now, Mrs. Parker is to be found at the head of an organization called Voice of Freedom Committee. LaGuardia, plus Frank Kingdon, William L. Shirer, William Gailmor, Zero Mostel, Will Geer and others, are to star at a shindig to be held by Voice of Freedom in New York's Town Hall on the evening of May. 8. That event is, of course, purely of local interest.

What is more important, however, is the fact that Mrs. Parker's committee may be the opening wedge into the formation of some sort of national radio listeners' post which would act as liaison between radio's public and those who control what the public hears. Back in her purple days, Mrs. Parker sang of her "Sanctuary" which "is bare of chattering folk" while "sweet's the air with curly smoke from all my burning bridges." Now she and her friends are trying to purify another kind of air by bridging the gap between bitter, unorganized criticism of radio and the industry's professions of good faith and excellent intentions. I wish them luck; they'll need it. SAUL CARSON

Movies

Rebels and Farmers

"ODD MAN OUT," which stars James Mason, is an ingenious, poetic movie much better than what British or Hollywood crews have put out in some time. This English picture will inescapably be compared to John Ford's "The Informer," on a similar theme. It compares quite well, although the impact of its predecessor was stronger, and had all the jolts of a good novel read while young enough to be jolted. "Odd Man Out," nevertheless, is a fine movie made by skillful, experienced people, and James Mason will become a favorite lost cause in the hearts of even slightly susceptible American women. No one can bleed and die for so long so winningly. The man, I began to feel, was not only very attractive, but indestructible.

The action takes place within the space of eight hours and enough happens to keep you well interested. Carol Reed, the director, has contrived to have Mason's lingering death affect not only dozens of characters, but the audience. Reed is one of the best directors there are, and he can make a camera give you a sensory reaction. Often without people, photographing streets, and buildings, and details, he can conjure more than nausea and a dreadful malaise; he projects fear. When he gets sentimental and even at times corny, it is with so much authority that you marvel rather than object.

JAMES MASON

The story is set in Belfast and has in it the fight of the Irish to gain their independence. There is in it, too, the weary wish for peace and legislation by a rebel leader too beaten down to do his men or his cause much good except as a symbol. (Can the British films be going in for propaganda? There was an aging rebel leader in "The Adventuress" who also embraced the calm and security of due process.) The lovely, dark, serious girl is Kathleen Ryan, and the kind, worldly priest is played by W. G. Fay, a veteran of the Abbey Theatre.

Other important characters are the informer, Shell, a sparrow of a travesty of a man, played by F. J. McCormick, the great Abbey actor at whose recent funeral all of Dublin mourned; and a brandy-mad painter who can't rest because he can't paint, acted by Robert Newton, the husband in "This Happy Breed," who here gives a particularly violent characterization. The story is by Robert C. Sheriff and F. L. Green, based on the latter's novel. The film was made for J. Arthur Rank and released in the US by Universal-International, who have done themselves a good turn.

"THE EGG AND I," with Claudette Colbert and Fred MacMurray, the screen version of Betty MacDonald's best-selling book of the same irritating title, will probably be around after I'm gone. I expect the nation to rock with laughter, and that being so, there seems little reason for trying to build its better future. The director-scenarist, Chester Erskine, and scenarist Fred Finklehoffe, who has a fancy farm of his own, will probably rise to even greater glory and bigger pay-checks.

"The Egg and I" is an example of just how inaccurate, how unfeeling, how unreal and how unfunny a movie can be. A couple of good tragi-comic stories have been written on the theme of buying a decrepit farm to make over, on which to live a good life sustained by fortitude, government pamphlets and a sense of humor. When you get out of "The Egg and I" you won't want even to smell fresh air.

I did laugh nervously once or twice, but I always do when a girl falls off a ladder or a menace down the road a piece has trouble with her new separator. Only once was I really amused. A Tobacco Road family, ludicrously exaggerated, teeth all blacked-up and clothes full of poultry, lives with masses of

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animal-children, happy and dirty, in a large shack. There is a small, satisfactory moment when a couple of the moppets are discovered with a two-handled saw, busily cutting away the supports of their house for a morning's fun. Except for that, I disliked "The Egg and I" with more intensity than I suppose it deserves. SHIRLEY O'HARA

WORTH SEEING

CHARLES CHAPLIN in "Monsieur Verdoux"—Not the great achievement expected, but anything this artist chooses to do is worth your attention.

JOHNNY O'CLOCK—Dick Powell, Evelyn Keyes, Lee J. Cobb in a cops-and-gamblers blue-plate that is easily the best of the current billings in this style.

THE ADVENTURESS—Irish nationalism and German Nazis in a British thriller. Not so good as "The Lady Vanishes" or "Night Train," but it has its fast moments.

THE MACOMBER AFFAIR—Gregory Peck, Joan Bennett, Robert Preston. A filming of the famous Hemingway story of cowardice and libido on African safari that is good enough to make you wish it were great.

CHILDREN OF PARADISE *(Les Enfants du Paradis)*—French film, English titles. The movie medium used with intelligence and feeling.

SMASH-UP—Susan Hayward and Lee Bowman. Not many people can afford to work so little and drink so much. A fairly well handled example of this procedure.

THE FARMER'S DAUGHTER—Loretta Young, Joseph Cotten, Ethel Barrymore and Charles Bickford. An amusing political fantasy.

SAVE YOUR EYES

TIME OUT OF MIND—Phyllis Calvert, Robert Hutton. Made by Robert Siodmak, who also did "The Killers." He should hang his head. Or perhaps just examine it.

I'LL BE YOURS—Only for the violent Deanna Durbin fans, who are willing to forgive her pictures wholesale.

SONG OF THE SOUTH—Disney gone offensive in a big way.

CALIFORNIA—Ray Milland, Barbara Stanwyck and Barry Fitzgerald in a movie that is so bad the audience makes strange noises.

Farm

Little Red Schoolhouse

THE little red schoolhouse has a nostalgic attraction for writers and poets. Stories and verse about it have become a part of our literature and it has been praised highly as one of our valued institutions.

Thus an illusion has been created, because in reality the little one-room school in the sticks is a part of a vast rural slum which is a disgrace to the nation. The little red schoolhouse should be torn down and a streamlined educational institution put in its place. America can hardly call herself a progressive nation until something is done about our rural school system, which is about as progressive as witchcraft and alchemy. It is true that the trend is toward consolidation and that one-room schools declined by a third between 1929 and 1944. Unhappily, this development has been taking place primarily in the urban centers and in rich states.

Urban teachers' salaries on the average are about double those of teachers in rural areas. Teachers' salaries in agricultural areas are at the bottom of the list. Salaries of white teachers in the South are generally far below the national average, while Negro teachers in rural areas do not make enough to buy the barest necessities. In 1943-44 Mississippi Negro teachers, most of whom are in rural areas, averaged $342 as against $1,107 for white, and in the 10 Southern states per-capita expenditures for white pupils were $77.83, as compared to $40.56 for Negro children.

Authelia Gumm, who testified before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee recently in behalf of federal aid to education, is a fairly typical country schoolteacher. She teaches in Summerville, Green County, Kentucky, 23 miles from Abraham Lincoln's birthplace, and her school apparently has made little progress since Lincoln left. Mrs. Gumm teaches in the largest school in the county. It has three teachers and 90 pupils. There are 71 white teachers (38 of these are emergency teachers) in the county. There are four two-teacher schools. The highest teacher salary is $1,163.20. Authelia's salary is $1,100.40, the third highest; the other 68 teachers are paid less. In 1943-44, Mrs. Gumm's salary was $747.81.

The general conception is that a teacher only teaches, but Mrs. Gumm does far more than this. She is also the janitor. The building is heated by an old-fashioned wood stove. Her work starts at seven when she makes the fire and tries to get the building warm before the children get there. The school board furnishes only six cords of wood; if the supply runs out the teachers must buy more out of their own money. The teachers also make and pay for minor school repairs.

NANNIE RUCKER, elementary teacher in Rutherford County, Tennessee, is perhaps typical of Negro teachers except that her salary of $886, after taxes, is far above that of the average colored teacher in the South. Mrs. Rucker teaches in Emery Community, where only two families own their farms. All the rest are sharecroppers. There are from four to 12 children in each family. Mrs. Rucker teaches all eight grades and about nine subjects in each. Forty-one children are enrolled and attendance runs about 30. These children are culturally at the bottom of our society. According to Mrs. Rucker:

"Many have never been to town, never seen a show, never seen a post office, have never been in a bank, never seen a train. Each year I try to provide such experiences for them all."

In addition to these duties Mrs.

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Rucker has a dozen others. There are no school lunches, but she warms the children's food on the stove, boils eggs and potatoes for them. She also furnishes tooth brushes and sees that they brush their teeth every day. She says their health and sanitary conditions are terrible. She administers first aid almost every day and takes the children to Murfreesboro in her car for inoculations. She gets them treated by the Health Department, obtains clothing at the County Welfare office and Red Cross, gives them sex education, takes them across the foot bridge when the creek is up and gets textbooks for those beyond the sixth grade.

Mrs. Rucker, like Mrs. Gumm, is also the janitor. She must build and tend the wood fire. Since the water supply has been condemned by the Health Department she has been bringing in all the drinking water. She is 34 years old —has three and a half years of college, all of which she obtained by going to school in the summer. She turned down a position as a maid which would have paid her more than her present salary. When asked why, she said:

"I have remained in teaching because I believe it is my calling. I enjoy working with children and feel that I am making a worthwhile contribution to my community. Otherwise I would have left the teaching profession long ago." I nominate Mrs. Rucker for a distinguished-service award.

MY OWN experience as a teacher can perhaps illustrate the crisis in American rural education. In 1934-35 I taught in a small-town rural high school in Seminole County, Oklahoma. Although it was reported that Seminole County produced one-ninth of all the oil in the world, at one time some of the teachers were making only $65 a month, or $585 a year, and on March 15 the school ran out of money, so the teachers had to complete the year without pay. When I suggested to one of the leading parents that we teachers should walk out unless some effort was made by the community to pay us, he said, "If you cared anything about the children, you wouldn't talk that way. You ought to be ashamed of yourself." In August of that year I received $80, less

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than half of my due, and I am still waiting for the rest of the money.

One of the troubles is that there is simply not enough money in farm areas to support schools. As ex-Senator Josh Lee of Oklahoma once said: "It looks like where the kids are the money ain't." Farmers in the Southeast US have 13.4 percent of the nation's children and only 2.2 percent of the national income. Non-farm people of the Northeast have 27 percent of the children and 42 percent of the nation's income.

Northern as well as Southern states suffer from lack of income in rural sections. In Michigan, for each dollar of income per farm child there is $4.31 of income per non-farm child. The tax situation is also out of balance. Sixty-three percent of the school money comes from local property taxes which are levied on only one-third of the taxable resources of the nation.

STATES have been trying to do something about the situation but they do not have the resources and the income to raise adequately their teaching standards. Next year Arkansas, primarily an agricultural state, will spend three percent of its 1946 income on education and has raised teachers' salaries from $534 to $1,450 in the last 10 years.

A partial solution would be a comprehensive federal-aid bill under which poor states, and poor areas in rich states, would be helped. The weakness of Senator Taft's (R, Ohio) bill S. 472, aside from the fact that it doesn't provide half enough money, is that it would restrict aid to only the very poorest states. Under this bill 23 states would not get a nickel and some rural areas in the so-called rich states need assistance badly. The Aiken (R, Vt.) bill, S. 199, also under consideration by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, would do much more toward raising the educational standards throughout the country. It provides that a minimum of $100 a year must be spent on each school child.

A lot of money has been well spent on the farmers' pigs, cows, crops, etc. It is about time some attention be paid to the farmers' daughters and the farmers' sons. ANGUS McDONALD

Henry Wallace

(Continued from page 15)

support. France," he ended, "is a democracy, and we are but one political party."

SPEAKING before organizations of women, young people, and intellectuals, I found broad coöperation among them with the Communists. The National Union of Intellectuals, with whom I lunched, is led by the Communist poet Louis Aragon. Catholic writers such as Georges Duhamel and Louis Martin-Chauffier were also there. And there were also Communists such as Frédéric Joliot-Curie and Pablo Picasso, who are in no sense doctrinaire. Picasso told me how he insisted to all Spaniards that the salvation of Spain lay through the salvation of the world.

I told my conservative American journalist friends of my impression of the solid roots of the Left in France. They agreed. They told me, however, that Caffery had cut himself off from the Left, and was now listening principally to de Gaulle's advisers, Gaston Palewski and Jacques Soustelle. They insisted that, in accordance with the Truman Doctrine, America would serve notice that her aid would be forthcom-

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ing only when the Communists were removed from the government. They maintained, moreover, that in the further application of the Truman Doctrine American support would be given to de Gaulle in his offensive against French democracy. They agreed that to draw the lines in France in this manner would cause strikes, violence and probably bloodshed. Some of them thought that this "preventive civil war" was an unfortunate but necessary prelude to the coming world war.

I report all this as I was told it. To me it is a shocking and frightening story. If it is true, it can only end by uniting the people of France and Europe against America. I was welcomed in France in 1947 as a liberal American. If present trends continue it may be that no American will be welcome in Europe in two years.

MY LAST words on Europe are to liberals.

This is no time for playing palace politics or for wishful thinking. The liberal conscience is an international conscience. We must listen to our counterparts in other lands.

If the Truman Doctrine were really a doctrine for liberals, it would be greeted with joy in Europe, where its impact is plain. Instead, it has been greeted with fear and dismay. In all my journey I found only one group ready to endorse this doctrine, the group of extreme right-wingers led by Winston Churchill. In Britain it served to weaken the Labor Party. In Sweden it greatly strengthened the conservative press. In Norway and Denmark, it weakened the Center and strengthened extremes of Left and Right. In France it served as the signal for de Gaulle to challenge French liberty.

Back in America I learn that some American liberals have endorsed the Truman Doctrine with the proviso that it be administered by liberals in Greece and Turkey. This is a little like asserting that the effect of dropping an atom bomb on Hiroshima will be fine provided the bombardier is a trade-union member in good standing. I beg all my liberal friends and all Americans to wake up and realize what is taking place before it is too late. H. W.

Correspondence

More on Mme. Flagstad

[*Cecil Smith's comments on Mme. Flagstad's recent concert appearances have brought in some angry correspondence from our readers. We print below a letter typical of this reaction, with Smith's reply.* – THE EDITORS]

SIR: Cecil Smith's brief two-paragraph dismissal of Daniza Ilitsch (the *New Republic,* April 21), who risked her life helping the underground movement, compares most unfavorably with his full-page spread cheering the return of Mme. Flagstad, for whom the most he can say is that the charges against her are "unsubstantiated." Quite apart from the pro-Third Reich remarks attributed to her, and which to date she has not denied, the fact that, without any friends in the underground, she was able to join her husband in German-occupied Norway speaks for itself. Furthermore, the undertones implicit in Smith's assertion that her chief discreditors are Walter Winchell, the Philadelphia *Jewish Times* and others who remain anonymous, are quite apparent, and certainly reflect no credit on a magazine as highly respected by its readers as is the *New Republic.* . . .

EVE JUDITH ROBINSON
Wilmington, Del.

SIR: It is true the most I can say is that the charges against Mme. Flagstad are "unsubstantiated." This strikes me as being quite enough, since, as I pointed out in my article, there has been plenty of time for substantiation. In any court of justice a judge would be guilty of bias if he convicted a defendant on the grounds of such exclusively hearsay evidence as has been presented against Mme. Flagstad.

She is not called upon to deny the "pro-Third Reich remarks attributed to her," inasmuch as nobody has specified when and where she is supposed to have made them. Nor does her ability to return to her husband in German-occupied Norway—before the United States was at war with Germany—provide a basis for any allegation of participation in Nazi activities. All it demonstrates is that her husband, Henry Johansen, was *persona grata* to the Nazis, and that they were willing to let his wife come back to him if she wanted to.

There were no "undertones implicit" in my mention of Walter Winchell and the Philadelphia *Jewish Times.* I named them because they did not hide their identity in a campaign otherwise marked

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by considerable anonymity of sponsorship. The inference Miss Robinson draws from my simple statement of fact—an inference which is not there unless you put it there—shows how readily devices of pure rhetoric can be used to bring discredit upon conclusions at variance with their own.

As for Daniza Ilitsch, my review was more enthusiastic and more confident of an important future for her than that of

(Continued on page 45)

Never the Ends Shall Meet

SIR: Poor, poor Bernard Posner, who wrote "What'll We Use for Dough?" in your issue of March 24, 1947! His article gave me the impression that he was trying very hard to put himself, his wife and young son in the red-figure column on his $416.67 per month. Compared below are his monthly figures and ours, and we have a sinking feeling that our figures are more typical of the average American family for 1946.

	POSNERS	ANDERSONS
FAMILY	Husband, wife, baby son.	Husband, wife, 3 children ages 4, 6, 8 and a dependent relative, a victim of polio last summer.
SALARY	$416.67.	$225—no tax deduction.
INSURANCE	$10,000.	$7,000—term insurance; $2,000—life insurance.
SAVINGS	$18.75 per month.	None.
FOOD	$95 per month.	$120 to $140.
CLOTHING	$20 per month.	No new suits or coats (hand-tailored, fur, or otherwise) for the past 3 years. I make all the children's clothing and often out of things given to us. About $5 per month.
RENT	$65, including light, water, etc.	$48 monthly payment on house including taxes and insurance, plus heat, light, water, averaging $18 per month—total $66 per month. (Incidentally, our house is small and entirely inadequate for a family of six.)
CLEANING	$12 per month.	All laundry we do ourselves. Dry cleaning less than $3 per month.
TOBACCO	$10 per month.	None for me; two cans of tobacco a week for husband—25c.
READING	The *New Republic; Saturday Review of Literature* and occasional book.	None—*New Republic*, other magazines, and books obtained from Public Library, which explains why we are reading the March 24 *New Republic* on April 15.
RECREATION	About $10 per year.	Square dancing once a month, 50 cents each plus 50 cents for a sitter. No guests, no dinners out, no movies, no theatre.
DONATIONS	$10 per year.	None—No Christmas gifts or gifts of any kind.
FURNITURE	$11 per month.	No household replacements of any kind for the past 3 years. No curtains, slip covers, rugs, linen, etc.
MEDICAL	Group Health $7 per month plus drugs, etc.	Group Health Assn. of St. Louis $10 per month, Group Hospital $2 per month plus tonsillectomy, dentist, drugs, bringing the total 1946 medical figure to $229.43.

About three years ago we managed to balance our budget on $225 per month including occasional household replacements, clothing and ample recreation. We have since been obliged to give up our oldest child's music lessons. There is no possible chance of sending her to camp this summer even for a week. We cannot send the children to an orthodontist, though the school doctor recommended that we do so at once.

From the above figures, it is obvious that there were times in 1946 when expenditures exceeded income. How, then, does the average family meet this problem?

(1) By eliminating recreation entirely and by reducing the food budget to a point where nutrition reaches a dangerously low level; (2) by dipping into a dwindling savings account (if we are lucky enough to have one at all); (3) by cashing in savings bonds in order to purchase, not fur coats, not new cars, not refrigerators, but food, clothing and shelter; (4) by borrowing on or cashing in life-insurance policies.

And so we are caught in the squeeze between skyrocketing prices and static salaries. What is our reaction to such a situation? Shall we be Pollyannas and say cheerfully, "It will all work out for the best"?

No, we are angry, indignant citizens, who want a decent standard of living for our families, and we want to know what can be done about it.

St. Louis, Mo. RUTH ANDERSON

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any other New York reviewer. Actually, I wrote about her in the *New Republic* for the very reason that I was disturbed by the lukewarm reception she received in the daily press at the tag-end of a desultory Metropolitan season.

The Flagstad issue emphasizes the responsibility of all liberal men and women to obtain the facts before passing judgment.

New York City CECIL SMITH

Wallace in Britain

SIR: I feel it my duty to write and tell you what Henry Wallace has done for Britain; he is the leader that we have been looking for because he points so accurately the middle way between Right and Left confusion.

British MP's are annoyed because he, far more than any British politician, expresses what is in the minds of 99 percent of the British people. These are confused by the different voices of their leaders and the obvious lack of direction from the government. The people do not want conscription, nor do they want imperialism; they want peace and justice for all men—a just peace. And that is exactly what Henry Wallace is showing them how to get. . . .

A. J. SIGGINS

Colwyn Bay, North Wales

Hot Tip

SIR: I should like to make one small correction concerning Shirley O'Hara's review of "My Favorite Brunette" in the April 7 issue of the *New Republic*. She refers to "the hot seat at San Quentin."

I presume that "the hot seat" is synonymous with "electric chair." Unfortunately, San Quentin does not have an electric chair. It has a gas chamber with two very cold, perforated steel chairs. The seat of the one on the left as you enter the chamber buckles.

EDWARD ROBERT ISAACS

New Brunswick, N. J.

Card of Admittance

SIR: May I express to you my personal appreciation of the editorial [on the exclusion of Negro reporters from the congressional press galleries] which appeared in the *New Republic* of March 24, 1947, under the caption "Unstretchable Point." It may interest you to know that I have been issued a card of admittance to both the Senate and House Press Galleries. Fellow correspondents apparently are accepting me as just another reporter.

LOUIS R. LAUTIER
Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World
Chief, NNPA News Service

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White man's burden may have been a mistake (as England sees it today) but it made a comfortable England for 200 years. And also a lot of millionaires. – *From* Nation's Business.

Nothing's Too Good for Our Boys

[The North Carolina House of Representatives voted the] passage of a bill which may mean a saving of as much as 39 cents in income taxes to many veterans of the state. On the subject of veterans, the House passed other measures giving some veterans certificates to practise as barbers and allowing veterans in rented houses a 90-day period of occupancy after notice of eviction. – *From the Raleigh (North Carolina)* News and Observer.

The Weaker Sex

The plaintiff, weighing about 145 pounds, stated to the court that his wife, who had learned judo in a women's branch of the service, used frequently to grab him unexpectedly, throw him over her head, then sit with her full weight upon his chest until she had gained her point. – *From the Chicago* Tribune.

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– *From a form letter sent out by the* Army and Navy Bulletin.

From the Hostess' Mouth

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double Martini, she takes half a soda cracker because, as she says, "you must never drink on an empty stomach." "Nobody in Europe is as underfed as I," she says complacently. – *From Adeline Fitzgerald's column in the Chicago* Sun.

Experiment

MAYOR-ELECT KENNELLY TO TRY
HONESTY AT CHICAGO CITY HALL
– *Headline in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

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Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 3)

rulers were forced to put something into Formosa in the way of a productive material investment; and to make their plans work they had to develop a better ordered and more enlightened social system than the anachronistic Chinese system which it supplanted.

As a result, instead of the mass illiteracy of China, you find in Formosa a people with at least six years of education, instead of ancient agricultural methods, you find modern techniques, including the utilization of Asia's second-largest irrigation system, agricultural colleges and agricultural-experiment stations. You find the best communications system in all China—railroads, ports, telegraph and more than sixty airfields. Welfare institutions have been founded and extensive public-health, sanitation and hospital systems cover the island. Most important, and completely unlike China (and accidentally brought about by the Japanese in forwarding their own plans), the Formosans have a social and political consciousness, a real interest in affairs beyond those of the family and the local village.

DURING the war, through bombing and natural deterioration, many of these systems and industries were seriously damaged. But during this period, too, income from sale of services and products was considerable. Because o the switch to war production in Japa (which consumed most of Formosa's e ports and supplied most of her import and the difficulties of shipping, it w impossible to spend this money for ne equipment and raw materials, and cons quently most of these funds remained in Formosa.

As a result, when the Chinese arrived at war's end, industry was at a standstill and Formosa was on the way to becoming a serious problem. But there were plenty of credits in the banks and unlimited opportunities for rehabilitation and even expansion of what the Japanese had already developed.

Today, however, after a year and a half of Chinese rule, Formosa is still a problem. For, instead of setting into motion a plan of rehabilitation, the Chinese have been stripping the island. Officials sent from the mainland strip it obviously with at least the approval, if not the orders, of Chiang Kai-shek, because the situation has many times been brought to his attention through the protests of leading Formosans.

More recently, the Formosans protested the killing of a woman cigarette vendor by Chinese "Special" police and the subsequent shooting of numerous bystanders during the "Incident of February 28." They took this occasion also to make demands for some much needed political and economic reforms. The government agreed to the demands, and then, when Chinese troops arrived, revoked all promises and introduced rule by military terror. When I left the island on March 22, at least 5,000 Formosans had been slaughtered; and, as is the way of such terrorism, it was mainly the student group—boys and men from 15 to 30 years of age—who had been and were still being killed: the very group from which the island's future leaders should come.

The Formosans thus see reason to question the intentions of China's Nationalist Government. They question as well the motives of the US, which was most instrumental in giving the island to China and then by default seemed to sanction not only the stripping of Formosa but also the concurrent violence. Quite apparently the Nationalist Goverment has deemed it worthwhile to strip

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the island for the money and materials which could be realized immediately and in so doing to risk the complete alienation of the people and the dragging down of the island to the economic level of China herself. The slower alternative, which the government is apparently not in a position to adopt during a period of civil war, would have been to use the local credits available for rehabilitation, thus permitting the production of surpluses of food and manufactured goods which would develop handsome profits in world markets.

THE recent uprising was an attempt by Formosans to eliminate corruption and fight for their right to live in peace and security, free from exploitation by their own people. Despite government propaganda to the contrary, it was not led by Communist or by subversive Japanese elements. Nor can I believe that the change of government which China has already announced for the island will effect much change in policy. The civil war, the primary reason why Formosa is now being so unprofitably sacrificed, still goes on. The people will continue to hate the Chinese government which has been imposed upon them and which—an important fact—has no de-jure right to do what it has done until the impending peace treaty with Japan legally transfers sovereignty to China.

As one Formosan said to me just before I left the island: "We fought the Japanese for fifty years as best we could, but we've come to realize since that although we didn't have the freedom and social equality we wanted under them, we at least had security and our island was brought from a primitive condition to a developed state. Now, under Chinese democracy we have neither the freedom nor the security and we must stand and watch all the good that has been done in the last half-century destroyed by our cousins from across the Straits. Anything would be better than what we have, and if you [the US] can't practise what you preach, we'll take the first thing that comes along. That will probably be communism."

EDWARD PAINE

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A "SPECTER STALKS" our nation's campuses. This is the somber warning of the House Un-American Committee. But what ghost is Rankin trying to catch? Is it the specter of the severe educational crisis? inflationary tuition fees? the discriminatory quota system? low vets' subsidies? sub-standard teachers' pay? depression diplomas? No. Rankin's "specter" is AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY. Rankin and Thomas demand that AYD be BANNED from all college campuses!

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